



वेदों-विश्वकोष-सूत्र  
वेद ही सत्यतः धर्म का मूल है।

सर्व को सहज करने और सत्यतः  
प्रज्ञा में सर्व-उच्चतर रहस्य का हिस्सा  
—सत्यतः सत्यतः

वचनानुसार - 162

सुविष्ट संख्या - 1972949087

वर्ष 3 बुधवार 15 अप्रैल 1987  
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# आर्य पुनर्जागरण

आर्य समाज, अजमेर का हिन्दी पालिक पत्र

“आर्य हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म।  
ओम् हमारा देव है, सत्य हमारा कर्म।”

धर्म विनाशधर्म न विनाशधर्म ज्ञाताधर्म परोक्षतः।  
अथ न सत्यधर्म विना न सर्वो धर्मो धर्म मित्र भवन्तु ॥

कृष्णसौविन्दवार्धन  
सत्य जगत को धर्म बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :

संसार को वर्तमान एवं  
सविषय में पैदा होने वाली  
समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत  
रखते हुए आर्य समाज का  
पुनर्गठन करना है।

वैशाख कृ० 1 सन्त 2044  
वार्षिक मूल्य 15/-, एक प्रति 60 पैसे

## आर्य समाज के वर्तमान व भावी कार्यक्रम पर विचार होगा

20 से 23 अप्रैल तक दिल्ली में प्रमुख आर्य विचारकों की संगोष्ठी

सार्वभौमिक सभा के उत्पन्न-  
धान ने पूरे आर्य समाज अजमेर  
के प्रधान श्री दत्तात्रेय जी आर्य  
के सचिवकृत में आर्य समाज की  
वर्तमान स्थिति तथा भावी कार्य-  
क्रम के सम्बन्ध में विचार-विनि-  
मय हेतु प्रमुख आर्य-विद्वानों की  
एक संगोष्ठी का आयोजन मन्दिर  
मार्ग, आर्य समाज, नई दिल्ली  
में गया है। संगोष्ठी में सम्मिलित  
विद्वानों के व्यापक विचार-विमर्श  
के उपरान्त प्रायः सर्व-सम्मेल  
सुझावों व निष्कर्षों के आधार  
पर एक प्रस्ताव पारित कर सार्व-  
भौमिक आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा को  
प्रस्तुत किया जाएगा। संगोष्ठी की  
प्रत्यक्षता सुप्रसिद्ध आर्य सत्याजी  
व विद्वान सा स्वामी सत्यप्रकाश  
जी सरस्वती करेंगे।

उल्लेखनीय है कि श्री दत्ता-  
त्रेय जी आर्य ने आर्य समाज की  
वर्तमान स्थिति से विचित्र होकर  
आर्य समाज के पुनर्गठन की मांग  
सन् 1982 में सार्वभौमिक सभा  
की अंतरिम सभा में उठाई थी  
इससे पूर्व श्री स्वामी विद्यानन्द  
जी ने भी आर्य समाज के पुनर्गठन  
के प्रश्न को उठाया था प्रस्ताव  
किया था, लेकिन सभा के अधि-  
सूचक

कारियों द्वारा पर्याप्त धन न लेने  
के कारण स्वामी जी का यह  
महान् कार्य पृथक् नहीं हो सका  
। परन्तु श्री दत्तात्रेय जी आर्य  
समिति का गठन उपर्युक्त विषय

की जोरदार मांगों के फलस्वरूप  
1983 में सभा ने श्री आर्य जी  
के सचिवकृत में ही एक उप-  
समिति का गठन उपर्युक्त विषय

### महात्मा हंसराज विवस समारोह

रविवार 19 अप्रैल 1987 प्रातः 9 से 1 बजे तक  
स्नान-सातकद्वारा हंसराज स्टेडियम, नई दिल्ली

आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा तथा डॉ ए ओ सत्याजी एव आर्य  
समाजों के समुचित उत्सवध्यान में महात्मा अमर स्वामी जी महाराज  
की जन्मशताब्दी के समारोह पूर्वक सम्पन्न होगा। इस समारोह में देश  
भर से नर नरे प्रसिद्ध आर्य विद्वान्, आर्य समाज के नेतागण तथा  
भारत सरकार के अनेक मंत्री महानुभाव महात्मा हंसराज जी  
की अध्यक्षता में भाग लेंगे। कुलाची हंसराज माडल स्कूल,  
अयोध्या विहार के छात्र-छात्राया मनोहर मनोरञ्जक कार्यक्रम प्रस्तुत  
करेंगे।

### आर्य प्रादेशिक प्रतिनिधि सभा का वार्षिक अधिवेशन

आर्य प्रादेशिक प्रतिनिधि सभा, मन्दिर मार्ग, नई दिल्ली का  
वार्षिक अधिवेशन रविवार, 31 मई 1987 को सभा के मुख्यालय  
आर्य समाज 'अमरकली', मन्दिर मार्ग, नई दिल्ली में प्रातः 10-30  
से 1 30 बजे तक तथा 2-30 बजे से सायं 5-00 बजे तक निश्चित  
किया गया है।  
—राजनाथ सहजल

### मूल-सुधार

'आर्यपुनर्गठन' के 29 मार्च के अंक में पृष्ठ-3 पर कासम 1 की  
12 वीं पंक्ति में 'अध्याय' की जगह अध्याय और इसी पृष्ठ पर  
प्रकाशित स्वामी जी के पत्र में 1778 की जगह 1878 होता चाहिए  
था। कृपया पाठक सुधार करें।  
—संपादक

में सुझाव प्रस्तुत करने के लिए-  
कर दिया था। इस उपलब्धि ने  
इनके अतिरिक्त श्री स्वामी  
विद्यानन्द जी, दिल्ली, श्री बीरेंद्र  
जी प्रधान, आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा  
पंजाब श्री श्री शेरविहारी दिल्ली  
एवं डॉ भवानीलाल जी भारतीय  
ज्योतिष सदन से। इस उपल-  
ब्धि ने अनेकों अंतरिम रिपोर्टों  
समा में पेश की थी। सभा प्र-  
धान मन्दिर मार्ग पर देश की प्रति-  
निधि सभाओं आर्य समाजों एवं  
प्रमुख व्यक्तियों से दो बार सम्म-  
तिमा आयोजित की गई और अनेक  
उनके आधार पर पुनः यह प्रारंभ  
दिया गया है कि इन सुझावों एवं  
उन पर प्राप्त सम्मेलनों पर और  
अधिक आर्य-विद्वानों की संगोष्ठी  
का आयोजन कर व्यापक विचार-  
विमर्श किया जाय।

संगोष्ठी के सचिवकृत श्री  
दत्तात्रेय जी आर्य ने प्रायः सभी  
प्रमुख आर्य विद्वानों को नियमित  
किया है। एवं उनसे आर्य समाज  
के जीवन-मरण के इस प्रश्न के  
महत्व को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए  
अपनी व्यक्तिगत धार्मिक विचारों  
के उपरान्त भी संगोष्ठी में सम्मि-  
लित होने का आग्रह किया है।

आर्य समाज अजमेर की मांग—

### ऐतिहासिक धर्म स्थल हिन्दुओं को लोटाये जावें

आर्य समाज अजमेर के प्रधान  
श्री दत्तात्रेय आर्य सभा मंत्री श्री  
रामसिंह ने भारत सरकार से पुरोहित  
धर्मों के संपत्ती की हि हिन्दुओं के  
ऐतिहासिक स्थल से सम्बन्धित तथा

राष्ट्रीय सङ्कलित के अन्तर्गत धर्म स्थलों  
(धर्म और धर्म के जन्म स्थलों) की  
हिन्दुओं को लौटा दिया जावे। उन्होंने  
भारत सरकार के भी पत्रों की हि हि  
के आधिकारिक दस्तावेज एवं सत्यापन की

स्वातंत्र्य कर सम्बन्धित गौदावरा,  
वेद आश्रम तथा कर्वाली हिन्दुओं  
की सत्यापन का आधार कर राष्ट्र  
की सङ्कलित के प्रति अपनी दृष्टि  
आश्रम का परिपक्व सेते हुए महज  
उन स्थानों की हिन्दु आश्रमों को लौटा  
है। इसके अलावा वे साम्प्रदायिक कट्टा  
समाज होकर राष्ट्रीय एवं भारतीय  
एकता को नष्ट कर रहे हैं।

उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि यद्यपि  
आर्य समाज अजमेर नहीं है तथा

मूल एवा का विरोध करता है, परन्तु  
महर्षि मुनीश्वर राम और श्री योगीश्वर  
जी कृष्ण भारतीय धर्म और सङ्कलित  
के आधार सम्मेलन ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व  
पुनः रहे हैं। अतः उनसे सम्बन्धित  
स्वातंत्र्य हिन्दुओं को प्राप्त होने वा  
चाहिए। इस ऐतिहासिक तथा नो  
गठनात्मक नहीं वा सत्यापन कि विदेशी  
साम्प्रदायिकताओं तथा तत्कालीन  
सुविचारधर्मों से इन स्थानों का रूप  
बिह्वल कर उन्हें सत्यतः के रूप में  
बचल दिया जाय।

निवेदन : दत्तात्रेय आर्य

प्रधान संपादक : रामसिंह

संपादक : बीरेंद्र कुमार आर्य

कार्या 21010







## धर्म (?) के नाम पर राजनीति में हस्तक्षेप सिख धर्म के विरुद्ध है।

आय समाज धर्म के विषय में अपने स्वतन्त्र व शास्त्रीय विचार रखता है। परन्तु आज इसके विपरीत समाज में मजहब व सम्प्रदाय की भी धर्म के ध्वज में ही लिया जाता है धर्म का ही वाचक समझा जाता है। इसीलिए आज जब धर्म विहीन राजनीति की मांग या बात की जाती है तो वस्तुतः उसका आशय साम्प्रदायिकता विहीन राजनीति से होता है।

हम पाठकों के सामने 18 मार्च के 'टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया' में प्रकाशित भी पी जे सिंह के लेख का हिन्दी अनुवाद प्रकाशित कर रहे हैं। रूपया इन्हें लेख को उचित संवर्धन में ही लें। सलाहक

अय धर्मों की तरह सिख धर्म में पुरोहितों के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है। इससे तो सम्भावित कारण हो सकता है। पुरोहितों का वैयक्तिक पन एवं उनमें व्याप्त भ्रष्ट चार व दुष्टाचार इसका पहला मूल कारण हो सकता है। सिख धर्म में आस्था रखने वाले अपने धार्मिक कर्तव्यों का पालन कर व ईश्वर प्राप्ति हेतु स्वयं साध प्रयत्न करें। ये इसके लिये पुरोहितों पर धारित न रहे एनी इच्छा सिख धर्म की थी। यही इच्छा दूसरा सम्भावित कारण हो सकता है। यद्यपि कुछ सिख परिवारों ने पत्नियों व पत्नियों का व्यवस्था कई विधियों से अपना रखा है परन्तु इन्हें पुरोहितों के रूप में मान्यता कभी नहीं मिली। समाज में सिख धर्म में पुरोहितों की व्यवस्था के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है। निर्वहे बाबा बुद्धा की भाई माने सिंह बाबा दीपसिंह इत्यादि ज्योदारों व। सिख समाज में अज्ञान भाव व व सम्मान प्राप्त रहा है। इस सम्मान का मूल कारण इन ज्योदारों की विद्वता पवित्रता वैयक्तिक व ईश्वरवादी जस गुरु से न कि उनका पद।

उपरोक्त बखित तथ्यों की प्रष्ट भूमि में उच्च कटि के ज्योदारों द्वारा अनाचार्य भक्ति बहुत करना व सम्मान प्रदान व हुक्मनामे जारी करना सिख धर्म के नियमों का उल्लंघन है। य ज्योदार अपने राज सत्त्विक प्रभाव व गठबंधन के कारण अपने पद पर बासीन हैं और सिख समाज में उनकी क्षमि के मूल में की

उनका राजनैतिक प्रभाव ही है। अतः इन के द्वारा जारी किये गये फरमान व हुक्मनामे तर्क संगत कदापि नहीं हो सकते।

नि सत्येन प्रसूतकाल में सिख उप-देवकों व सामयिक चन्दा सत्त्विक नृत्तों की व्यवस्था की। परन्तु ये सिख कार्यकर्ता भ्रष्टाचार व दुराचार में लिप्त हो गये थे। धन इकट्ठा करने के लिये अपने पद का दुरुपयोग करने लगे थे व धर्म विरुद्ध व्यवहार करने लगे थे। अतः गुरु गोविन्दसिंह की हो इस व्यवस्था को समाप्त करना पड़ा। सिख धर्म के इतिहास की यह एक मुख्य घटना है। आज की मुश्कलों में इस धर्मा पर आधारित बहुत से पवन गये जाते हैं। सिख इतिहास के जलकार लोग इन घटना से धनी-धनी परिचित हैं। राजा रणजीत सिंह का मन्त्रा से धाने से पूर सिख इतिहास के विसन काल (Misal Period) में ज्योदारों की भूमिका समग्र है। सिख इतिहास के इस काल में इस बात का तो उल्लेख है कि वे सदा वैसाही व शीघ्रपक्षों के ज्योदारों पर हरिम वर साहब ने सवायें बायो जिम करती है। य वेवहार इन नमाधी के सिख धर्म के विषय पर विचार विमल क ते थे। धर्मिय में सम्पन्न किये जाने वाले कार्य का शास्त्र तैयार करने थे। परन्तु सतनज सरदारी में कुछ ऐसे सरदार भी जो स्वयं के निहित स्वार्थों के कारण इन सभाओं में न तो भाग लेते थे न ही इन सभाओं में गये गये नियमों को स्वीकार करते थे। ऐसा होने पर भी इन क विरुद्ध कोई फरमान जारी किये जा का किसी घटना का उल्लेख नहीं मिलता। बल्कि इन सरदारों के प्रभाव आज की कालना राजनीति में मुख्य भूमिका अदा कर रहे हैं।

यद्यपि राजा रणजीतसिंह जी ने दखार साहब व उसके मुख्य ज्योदार का सर्वे व सम्मान किया परन्तु ज्योदार न कभी राजा रणजीतसिंह जी ने राजकीय प्रशासन में हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया। हरमिन्दर साहब के ज्योदारों ने राजा रणजीतसिंह को केवल उनके सिख पक्ष के धार्मिक नियमों के उल्लंघन करने पर ही दखित किया। राज्य के प्रशासन की चलाते के लिए सर्वसाधारण कर्मियों को लेकर किसी भी प्रकार के विरुद्ध फरमान जारी करना वदापि उचित नहीं माना जा सकता।

ज्योदारों को ऐसा करने की Parasol Law की धारणा नहीं देता। सिख धर्म के इतिहास में कभी भी ऐसा उदाहरण नहीं मिलता जिसमें कभी ज्योदारों ने किसी उच्च अधिकारी को उनकी प्रशासनिक दायित्वों के लिए दखित किया हो। अतः हरमिन्दर साहब के मुख्य धर्म की व अकाल तत्क के ज्योदारों को राज्य की राजनीति में हस्तक्षेप करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। न ही उन्हें देश के राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में निर्वह देते का अधिकार है।

बरनाला के विरुद्ध हुक्मनामा जारी किया गया। बरनाला में हुक्मनामा का सम्मान करते हुए बान व साहब गुरु द्वारे में जुते साक किये। इससे स्पष्ट नहीं कि इस का प्रभाव राज्य के प्रशासन तब पर प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पड़ा व सिख देवकों ज्योदारों की नेतृत्वों को अनुचित प्रशासनिक नियमों के जलका चपूर नाम उठाते थे कभी नहीं चुक्ये। बरनाला में उन पर सवाये गये दोषों का यद्यपि स्पष्टीकरण दे दिया है। परन्तु बरनाला साहब को ज्योदारों से अनामानने की जिम्मेदारियों के अभी मुक्ति प्राप्त नहीं हुई है। ज्योदार कभी भी यह मानते हैं कि बरनाला में उन क धार्मिक अधिकारों का हनन किया है। उचित यह हो ही होगा कि जब ज्योदारों की इस मनोवृत्ति को बाधना न दिया जाये व उन के प्रति उदासीनता का व्यवहार किया जाये।

यद्यपि ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो इन ज्योदारों के नाम व उन के द्वारा अनुचित फरमान सिख इतिहास में एक नवीन प्रणय के रूप में जुड़ जायें और यह स्पष्ट है कि ऐसा होना देश के हित में नहीं होगा। निवास सिख समुदाय में खुलकर ज्योदारों के राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में हस्तक्षेप के विरुद्ध अपनी आवाज उठावी है। यह हम सब के गिर उस्तादक है। ज्योदारों की यह मान्यता कि राजनीति में हम को अत्यंत मान कर नहीं बना जा सकता कदापि उचित नहीं। बरनाला साहब की धर्म ज्योदारों को इस पुनीत का अना प्रष्ट सामना करना है।

भी मुश्किल प्रभाव व भी काय कारिणी के चुनाव के उपरांत ज्योदार इमानसिंह को बटाकर रावी बसत सिंह को प्रकाश तत्क के

ज्योदार के वध पर नियुक्त करने से यह सिद्ध हो जाता है कि प्रभाव में निवास रावी तत्क के ज्योदार NGPS के वेतन भोगी कर्मचारी व उसकी गृह स्त्रीनी समर्थन हैं। यह हम बात से भी सिद्ध हो जाता है कि बरनाला के विरुद्ध फरमान का सम्बन्ध प्रभाव के बाहर स्थित रावी के ज्योदारों में विस्तृत नहीं किया। यदि प्रभाव के ज्योदारों की राजनीति में हस्तक्षेप को बुझी वृत्त से वा मनी व उन के काय कर्मागों को महत्व दे दिया जाये तो प्रभाव सरकार NGPS के हाथों में केवल कर्मचारी बन कर रह जायेंगी। सिख धार्मिक सत्त्विकों व राजनैतिक क्षेत्र पर नियन्त्रण करने का उद्देश्य कभी नहीं रहा। SGPC का गठन राज्य प्रशासन के नामों में अत्यंत किया जाता है इसलिये इच्छा कार्ययोग व अधिकार सीमित है। जब SGPC केवल धार्मिक क्षेत्र में ही संश्लेष है राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में वह प्रशासन व विधान मन्त्र के प्रभाव में। गुरु परचर के अनुसार गुरुद्वारों का प्रवृत्त कला ही SGPC के कायकर्मियों व ज्योदारों का मूल लक्ष्य है।

### मुश्किलपूर्ण हस्ताक्षर

ज्योदारों के लिये गमनाय व भाग लेना धर्मा-क्षेत्रीय है व भी प्रभावकामियों व प्रवृत्तक व यो व गठबंधन करना अधिक आसान बन है। निर्णय नागो सिद्ध है। व कर्मों की अनाधन्यता द्वारा का जा रही इच्छाओं से समस्त सिख समुदाय को आघात पहुंच रहा है। इन से सिखों का विश्वास में झुक गया है। ऐसा होने पर भी ज्योदार प्रवृत्तकामियों के विरुद्ध एक भी मन्त्र को नहीं को वेवहार नहीं है।

सत्य सत्य पर ज्योदार पक्ष की एकता के उद्देश्य का राय अनापते रहते हैं। यहाँ पक्ष की एकता का क्या अर्थ है? ज्योदारों के अनुसार पक्ष की एकता व अकाली एकता दोनों एक दूसरे के पर्यायवाची हैं परन्तु सिख धर्मदास के अनुसार पक्ष की एकता व अकाली एकता दोनों विस्तृत सिद्ध हैं। पक्ष की एकता का अर्थ समस्त सिख समुदाय की एकता है। अकाली नेताओं से भेदा निवेदन है कि वे पक्ष का अर्थ अकालीयन से न सवायें उदार धर्मिकों का परित्यक्त हैकर सिख समुदाय में पक्ष व अकाली पक्ष को लेकर पंजी आनि को हर करने की इच्छा करें। ○○



**बुरी लगे, चाहे लगे भली**

प्रो० बसात्रेय भाय्य द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकें

सुत्साय-प्रकाश ग्रन्थ माला -15 भाग

ये दो 'मिलीमोम' मूलम्  
वेद ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है ।

सत्य को ग्रहण करने और असत्य के  
छोड़ने में सर्वोच्च उपाय रहना चाहिए

—महाश्वि दयानन्द

दयानन्दानन्द 162

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। श्री ३३ ।

# आर्य पुनर्जात

आर्य समाज, अजमेर का हिन्दी पाठिक पत्र

“आर्य हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म ।  
श्री ३३ हमारा वेद है, सत्य हमारा कर्म ॥”

अथय मित्रावधयम् जमिनादयम् ज्ञातादयम् परोक्षात् ।  
अथय नक्तमथय दिवा न' सर्वा प्राप्ता मम मित्र भवन्तु ॥

कृष्णन्तोविश्वमार्गम्  
सकल जगत को आर्य बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :

समाज की वर्तमान एवं  
भविष्य में पैदा होने वाली  
समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत  
रखते हुए आर्यसमाज का  
पुनर्गठन करना है ।

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## आर्य समाज नहीं पीढ़ी के चरित्र निर्माण का बीड़ा उठाये — विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह



समारोह को सम्बोधित करते हुए श्री सिंह



पूर्व रक्षामन्त्री श्री विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह आचार्य बाले को  
मोक्षार्जन शास्त्री पुरस्कार प्रदान करते हुए

नई दिल्ली, 19 अप्रैल। पूर्व  
रक्षामन्त्री विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह ने आज  
कहा कि वे भारतीयता के अनुयायी  
मूल सिद्ध शिक्षा प्रणाली को अपना  
पाठ्यक्रम बनाएंगे। जो किताबी ज्ञान तक सीमित  
न होकर मानवीय आचरण के सभी  
पक्षों को सम्मिलित करे।

श्री सिंह आज यहां ए. ए. सी.  
विभाग के छात्रों के सम्बोधित करते हुए

हस्ताक्षर की बसती पर भाषण  
समारोह में भाग लेंगे।  
उन्होंने कहा कि आर्य समाज  
की इस स्थायी दयानन्द और महात्मा  
हस्ताक्षर जैसे महापुरुषों को उचित  
व्यक्तिगत दे सकते हैं।

श्री सिंह ने आर्य समाज की  
विशेषताओं के बारे में भी कहा कि वे  
समाज के सभी वर्गों को एक साथ

गिरोर राष्ट्रीय एकता की नींव  
बसत करने में सहयोग दें। पूर्व  
रक्षामन्त्री ने इस अवसर पर आर्य  
समाज की उन विधियों का गुरुकुल  
कायदा द्वारा प्रत्यक्ष आचार्य मोक्षार्जन  
शास्त्री पुरस्कार से सम्मान किया।  
जिन्होंने अपना सारा जीवन शिक्षा के  
प्रसार और सामाजिक उत्थान के लिए  
अपना दिया है। उन्होंने कहा कि  
आर्य समाज अजमेर के प्रधान आचार्य

बाले को भी उचित पुरस्कार दे  
श्री सिंह ने सम्मानित किया।

श्री सिंह ने आर्यसमाज को नयी  
पीढ़ी के चरित्र निर्माण का बीड़ा उठाने  
की सलाह दी और कहा कि चरित्र  
पुस्तक से ज्यादा सीखती है। उन्होंने  
कहा कि शिक्षा की परीक्षा मानवीय  
व्यवहार में होती है वह समय समय  
का निर्धार करना शिक्षा का प्रमुख  
उद्देश्य होना चाहिए।

आर्य प्रतिनिधि समाज, श्री राज्य सरकार से आगे—

## अजमेर के विश्वविद्यालय का नाम दयानन्द विश्वविद्यालय हो

आर्य प्रतिनिधि समाज राक्षसान  
के अजमेर में अपने नाम विश्वविद्या-  
लय का नाम नहीं दयानन्द राक्षस  
विश्वविद्यालय रखने की मांग राक्ष-  
सान सरकार से की है समाज के  
प्रधान श्री मोहम्मद एबुलक़ादिर ने  
राक्षस के मुख्यालय के नाम विश्व  
विद्यालय में अपने नाम देकर विश्व-

विद्यालय का नाम नहीं दयानन्द के  
नाम पर रखने का भीषण विरोध  
किया है।

श्री मोहम्मद ने कहा है— 'स्वामी  
दयानन्द राक्षसी ने अपने जीवन का  
अधिकांश समय राक्षसान में लगाया,  
आर्य समाज के प्रतिष्ठित ऐतिहासिक  
ग्रन्थ की रचना की उन्होंने उच्चपदों के

“नीलकां” महान्त मंत्री की। राक्ष-  
सान उनका सबसे बड़ा पदम श्रेष्ठ  
रहा है। उन्होंने राक्षसान के उद्धार  
के लिए अपना सब कुछ त्यागकर  
कर दिया। उनकी मरने के बाद भी  
राक्षसान के प्रमुख नगर अजमेर में  
ही हुई है।”

श्री मोहम्मद ने अपने पत्र में

दयानन्द राक्षसों के नाम, अजमेर  
के प्रतिष्ठित अजमेर में बस रही  
विश्वनाथ विश्वनाथों का  
निवारण भी किया है।

आर्यसमाज अजमेर में भी इन  
आचार्य का एक प्रस्ताव सब सम्मति  
से पारित कर राक्षस के मुख्यालयों में  
विस्थापन की योजना है।

निदेशक: हस्ताक्षर आर्य

प्रधान संपादक: राक्षस

संपादक: श्रीराम कुमार आर्य

कार्य: 21010



## आचार्य श्री गोवर्धन शास्त्री पुरस्कार

शैक्षिक शिक्षाशास्त्री

### आचार्य श्री दत्तात्रेय वाले

के कर-कर्मों में सावर समर्पित

अभिनन्दन-पत्रम्

शब्देय आचार्य जी ।

बनारस कालेज धर्मेश्वर के प्रधानाचार्य के रूप में आपकी क्याति राजस्थान की सीमाओं को पार कर सम्पूर्ण देश में पहुँची है। 5 सफाई, 12 स्नातकोत्तर विभागों, बाणिज्य, विज्ञान तथा कृषि में स्नातक विभागों की स्थापना कर अपने प्राथम-काल में इस महाविद्यालय की जो सर्वांगीण उन्नति आपने की, वह हर शिक्षा-शास्त्री के लिए स्तूहा और वस्तु है। आप कुशल प्रवासक, निष्ठावान् प्राध्यापक तथा बहुभाषायी शिक्षा के पारंगत धर्मज्ञ रहे हैं। इसके प्रतिरिक्त अनाथ, निरक्षर और निराश्रित बालक-बालिकाओं के पालन पोषण तथा शिक्षा-दीक्षा के लिए भी दयानन्द बाल सदन जैसी आदर्श शिक्षण-संस्था का आप पिछले 32 वर्षों से सफलतापूर्वक संचालन कर रहे हैं। आपके अथक परिश्रम और सुकृत्त के कारण ही यह संस्था आर्थिक दृष्टि से स्वावलम्बी बनी और बड़े उत्साह के साथ भी समानता के आधार पर बच्चों को शिक्षा प्रदान करने का कार्य कर रही है। आपका ही प्रताप है कि इस सदन से एक सौ पच्चीस अनाथ बालक-बालिकाओं के निःशुल्क रहन-सहन और शिक्षा पर यह संस्था प्रतिवर्ष एक लाख रुपये के लगभग व्यय करती है।

मातृशाला ।

आपकी शिक्षा बनारस, इलाहाबाद तथा लखनऊ विन्ध्यविद्यालय में हुई। इतिहास तथा राजनीतिशास्त्र में स्नातकोत्तर उपाधि प्राप्त करने के बाद आपने कानून की परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण की। येथो तथा डी0 ए0 की0 कालेज में शिक्षण का कार्य किया तथा 'राष्ट्रीय चरित्र और एकता' 'सेवा और सच' 'आर्यसमाज हिन्दुधर्म का सम्प्रदाय नहीं', 'माइनर इथिन्स एण्ड हिन्दुधर्म' तथा 'देश, धर्म और समाज को आर्यसमाज की देन', जैसी अनेक पुस्तकें लिखीं। सत्याग्रहकाण्ड ग्रन्थमाला, धर्मशिक्षा तथा धर्मसंस्था परिचय निदेशिका जैसी पुस्तकों का सम्पादन किया। 1935 से 1986 तक आपने 'अजय', 'विजय', 'अनाथरक्षक' तथा 'आर्य पुनर्गठन' जैसी पत्रिकाओं का सम्पादन भी किया। आर्यसमाज और उसके सिद्धान्तों के प्रचार-प्रसार के क्षेत्र में की गई आपकी सेवाएँ अविस्मरणीय रहेंगी। वैदिक साहित्य और आर्यसमाज के प्रवर्द्धन पर अन्वीर शोधकार्य के लिए डी ए की कालेज में 'दयानन्द शोधपीठ' की स्थापना आपके शिष्यकल्प का ही सुफल कहा जा सकता है।

मृशाल शिक्षाशास्त्री ।

1956 में शिक्षा, समाजसेवा तथा नागरिक प्रशासन आदि में आपकी विशेष योग्यता तथा अनुभव से प्रभावित होकर अमेरिका तथा इंग्लैंड में आपको विशेषरूप में आमन्त्रित किया गया। वहाँ आपके भाषणों से भारतीय तथा पाश्चात्य विद्वान् विशेष प्रभावित हुए। महर्षि दयानन्द का संदेश विश्व के विचारकों ने सुना और लोगो ने जाना कि आधुनिक भारत और हिन्दुत्व क्या है? 'इन्ट्रोडक्शन टू माइनर इथिन्स एण्ड हिन्दुधर्म' नाम के प्रकाशित आपके भाषण उस विचारधारा का पूर्ण प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं जो वैदिक ऋषियों ने तपस्या और समाधि के द्वारा अनुभव की थी और जिसे ऋषि दयानन्द ने वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण से सत्तर के सम्मुख सर्वप्रथम रखा था। यही कारण है कि दयानन्द कालेज की राजत अन्वेषी के प्रसार पर आपकी उपराष्ट्रपति श्री गोसावल्कर जी पाठक द्वारा अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ श्रेष्ठकर देश के शिक्षा-शास्त्रियों ने आपकी सामाजिक सेवाओं के प्रति सार्वजनिक रूप से आभार व्यक्त किया।

आपकी आर्यसमाज के प्रति की गई असाधारण सेवाओं के लिए हम आपके आभारी हैं। अतः मुकुन्द कावरी के प्रारम्भिक आचार्यों में अग्रणी, विज्ञान पर उत्कृष्ट द्वितीयप्रणेतृ तथा सस्कृतसंस्कृतिनिष्ठ विद्वान् स्व० श्री गोवर्धन शास्त्री की स्मृति में सख्त शिक्षा समा द्रुत, अग्रगण्य द्वारा स्थापित गोवर्धन शास्त्री पुरस्कार से आपकी सम्मानित करते हुए हम इसे का अनुभव कर रहे हैं।

आप अतःपु हो, इस शुभकामना के साथ हमारी अट्ठा का प्रतीक यह अभिनन्दन-पत्र आपके कर-कर्मों में सावर समर्पित है।

मुकुन्द कावरी विन्ध्यविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

राजमन्त्र वर्मा  
कुलपति



## मेरठ के दंगों से नकाब उठ रही है—

बैठ 21 मार्च। जैसे जैसे दंगे की भाव ठंडी पड़ती जा रही है, वैसे ही इसकी रीत-रिवाजत भावों और इसे हवा देने वालों के चेहरों के गंभीर उड़ती जा रही है। इनमें ऐसे चेहरे भी शामिल हैं, जिन्होंने कपिल का और रामकुंभडा का नामा पकड़ रखा है। अगर उन्होंने सामाजिकता केनाते और जातिकारियों को मुहुराह करने के अपने प्रभावों में कोई कमी नहीं छोड़ी है।

परिवार की रात को ऐसे ही तस्वी में लफिट हुआ है कि प्रचार मुखमन्त्री और बहादुर सिंह को बेर कर उन्हें बसत ठगने से मुहुराह करने का प्रयास किया, उसमें उनके धाकी रूप सामने धा रहे हैं। गुना कापेल का लवदा पहले सामप्रदायिक मनोमल्ल के इन मुकुको का कहना था कि मेरठ का क्या पुलिस के किसी सराबो हस्त-विस्तर की देन है जब कि हमने सम्प्रदाय के लोगों ने इस बहानी को मन बहल बताते हुए स्पष्ट किया था कि जमे बरात की शांतिश भावों के बहाने एक निगेजित ठगने से यह क्या कुछ करना था। एक ही समय में चिन्मित्र स्वामी पर हुई हितक घटनायें इसके प्रमाण हैं।

जिसा प्रमाण व पुलिस प्रमाण की जमे-बरात को होने वाली शांतिशभावी को धापी प्रतिनिधिता को ही दंग का जन्मदाता करार दे चुका है।

इसके बलाया चिन्मित्र सम्प्रदाय चमो में धापी प्रमाण प्रमाण रखी है। जब कि दंगे के धापी की बहानी कुछ और ही है। उष्माय व बावलिपता से धापी बार करने का साहज साव्य जिला प्रमाण को चुका है। बहापि प्रमाण की अपनी कीपी पकड़ का ही मुहुराह करने के धापी साव्य जिला प्रमाण को चुका है। बहापि प्रमाण की अपनी कीपी पकड़ का ही मुहुराह करने के धापी साव्य जिला प्रमाण को चुका है। बहापि प्रमाण की अपनी कीपी पकड़ का ही मुहुराह करने के धापी साव्य जिला प्रमाण को चुका है।

परमाणव दंगे की मुकुमाय का सही घटनास्थल है मुकुमाय सिमता

के सामने स्थित थी। पूर्ण मुकुमाय शिव परिवार वाली बहो, बाह्य-नेट बहो हिन्दू कोनों की एक 33 परिवारों की बस्ती बस्ती है। इस बस्ती के चौराहा है बस्ती को भेरे हुए हवारी मुस्लिम परिवार जमे बरात का रात को बहो एक और तवर के मुख्य माय की दो तरफ से गांके बरी कर पुलिस जमे-बरात की शांतिशभावी करने में जसमुय की नहीं दूसरी और एक हवारी बरात गांका लोहा के बहो उसके पुत्र मरेय कुमार की पाचवी बरातगा मायां जा रही थी जिस बारण भापके बर पर बर्निमियों का जामा-जामा लगा था।

प्रमुख माय पर शांतिशभावी बारी थी। धापीकारी चोपले से मेरठ लितासी नेट चोपले तक गांके बरी कर दी गई की टूटिका बर कर िया गया था परन्तु इसके दुगले लोको की पुलिस धावे जाने दे रही थी। शांतिशभावी बरात रहे मुस्लिम मुकुको

काट धिरे और जबरन को धावाह माय ए-क-बरी और बावरी मस्लिम से के रहेने धापी नारो के साथ उनके बरो पर परराय धीरत बलती शांतिश भावी मुकु बर कर दी। माईट गुन ही जाने के एकाएक हमला हो जाने से लोको को धापी जान बचायी बारी पड़ गई। किसी तरह महिलाओं को क्लो पर से धावाह सुरक्षित जामो पर पहुंचाया गया हमसे है धिरे लोको में लोहा कि साव्य पुलिस हवारी मदद करेगी परन्तु पुलिस बर्मी धापी जान बचा पहले ही नाम बडे हुए है।

बस्ती बायां में बताया कि धापीधियों का नेतृत्व मोहम्मद यामीन पुत्र धापीय कर रहा था। उसी में बिजली काटने व वीस का हथवा हाव से लिए हिन्दुओं की दुकायें जताने व जलवाने में मुख्य भूमिका बदा कर रहा था।

साधनमिठ की लकड़ी की टाव

दंगे पूर्व निगेजित थे : मुस्लिम मुकुको ने धापी जाती महिलाओं पर जलती धांतिश बावीयां फेंकी मोहल्ले के बिन्दुय कनेवसत काटे : प्रमुख धापी मोहम्मद यामीन लितासी के बावबूय लुका घुस रहा है। ईमिक धिश्य नामक के मेरठ प्रतिनिधि की विरोध रिपोर्ट—

और बन्धो द्वारा धावे-जाने वाली पर की पटाणे के फूलभरियां फेंकी जा रही थी।

बहुरी पर उगात पुलिसकार्मियों पर गांभ बहो के बलाया धांतिशभावी रखी है। वे प्रक बरोंक बने बहो रहे थे।

प्रत्यक्षनिधो का कहना है कि शांतिशभावी करने वालों के एक मुकुड ने एकाएक मोहम्मद मुकुमाय की शिवलिपि बारी लकी पर मोर्चा बना लिता और बर्गयात मना रहे परिवार की धापी जाती महिला मेकुमाय पर जलती 33 धांतिशभावी फेंकी जाने लगी। धांके महिलामो पर पंकी गई शांतिशभावी से कपडे जडे। इस मुकुड ने उमका पीछा बरो में चुक जाने तक नहीं छोड़ा। उन परिवारों के पुत्रों द्वारा ऐतराज करने पर इस पुलिस मुकुको ने उनके मोहल्ले के बरो के बिन्दुय अनेवसत

को उसकी धांकी के सामने जामाकर राख कर दिया गया।

जब यह सम्पादनाती भी मुकुपी माय में पहुंचा तो देखीकरण की बांध पर बड़ी बमानुक पट्टी ने स्वय बरा दिया कि वह भी दंगे का लिताह हुआ है। सम्पादनाती के पंथने पर मोहल्ले वाली बहदुरा ही गये जिनसे से कई एक के पट्टिया बधी की बरती उल्लोने एक साथ ही सरकार व पुलिस की प्रकमप्यता का बकान मुक कर दिया। उनका बांरोय का कि प्रमुख धापी मोहम्मद यामीन लितासी के बावबूय को गुना भूम रहा है। जबकि दंगे की बिपारी धांतिश बला मोहम्मद यामीन ही है। और जमी तक की बिधी सरकारी व वीर सरकारी लोको में धापीर उनके हाव पाव नहीं भुंये हैं। यह लोको तरह की काफ सामगी के लिए परमाणव हैं। बहात बर चेहेरे लिए दंगे के लिताह लोको ने तवर में बने

धम्य नामो हिन्दुओं के प्रति की कुछ व रोष प्रकट किया।

मुकुड लोको से यह भी पता चला बला है कि यह दंगा मुझे निगेजित इसलिए ही लमता है कि महायुवक पालिका में कार्मय लममम 60 मुस्लिम बिन्मियो ने दल-दल जिन का प्रथिम बलाकाय लिता था। इसी तरह सरकारी व वीर सरकारी कार्मि-लवो व कारखानो म लने लोको ने भी दल-दल जिन की टट्टियां से ली थी। प्रमाणम यदि सम्पादी व बावलि-पिताथो तक पहुंचना बाहता है तो यह इन धम्य प्रकरण की बिजसस से बांध कारकर सही निवध पर प च सकता है।

इसके बलाया कल नाम धापीनी लोय के इका बिधायक धापीत सिंह सेठी ने धपन निवास पर कुछ वम प्रतिनिधिया धोर प्रमुख नामक जता की एक बैठक बुलाई थी।

उसने भी की कंसाल बन्ध मोतय एकोकेट प्रकाय बन्ध मोतय एकोकेट, मोह-र कुमार बानी धोर पथकार सतीश धापी ने धपने बिपारर प्यता करते हुए बड़ी निध-कर्म निमाला कि दंगा पूर्व निगेजित था।

बैठक में इस बात पर की बर्मी हुई है कि स्थानीय धांति-कारियों की मेरठ की धापीमिक स्थिति जा पूरा जान न होने के कारण उन्होंने सही तरीको से कपय नहीं लगाया। जिन लोको से जमी कोठी, बहदुरम बरती बावारी और बर मगन से हितक बदाए हुईं उल्ले बर्मी रहित रखा गया और बरा जाय तक कमी किसी दंगे में कोई बावलात नहीं हुई बहो लातातर पथक दिनेय कर्म लमाकर लोको का बीना हमार कर दिया गया।

इस बात की जरूरत महतून की गई कि साध दिनेय दिमाय के प्रमुख हिन्दू मुसलमानों को बहदुरा करके उनसे एकता और शांति स्था-पित करने और धांतिशभावी मजबूत बनाने का सहयोग लिता बावो ताकि मेरठ में स्थिति पूरी तरह सामान्य हो सके।

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(विश्व नामक से साधारा)



—प्रो. सुब्रह्मण्यम्

अत्यन्त हर्ष का विषय है कि राजस्थान राज्य सरकार ने अमेरिका में निवेशिकात्मक व्यवस्था करने का निर्णय लिया है। इस निर्णय को सुर्ती रूप देने के लिये कारागिरि ठाठियाजी की मुक्त कर दी गई है। प्रवेश के मुख्यमंत्री नामगिरी जी इन्दिरा गांधी के प्रधान प्रवेश के आगामी वर्ष से ही निवेशिकात्मक बनना कार्य आरम्भ कर देना, भारतीय मुख्यमंत्री का विश्वास जोष में वह मोहन लाल उनके कार्यकाल के स्वर्णिम अग्रगण्य के रूप में चिरस्मरणीय रहेगा।

[illegible]

असम के विश्वविद्यालय का प्रमुख कायस्थ तथा बाग विनिर्माता सुविनिष्ठाट्ट ही कुकी हैं जल भवि केवल विश्वविद्यालय का नाम युगप्रस्थापक महर्षि दयानन्द के नाम पर रखने की आवश्यकता से पट्ट जाती है इसके अंतर पर्याप्त सुस्पष्ट होत सतत है। महर्षि दयानन्द ने राज-स्थान की ही धरणा वैदिक काल शान बताया था यही वैदिक धर्म का प्रचार करने हुये तथा राष्ट्रीय केतना

स्वतन्त्राधिकार भाष्य समाज अजमेर के लिए व प्रकाशक एवं संपादक राधासिंह त्रिगुण खननाल बगैँ द्वारा श्री भार्गव प्रिन्टर्स बाबू मोहनलाल, कम्पोज अजमेर से मुद्रित एवं भाष्य समाज भवन अजमेर से प्रकाशित ।

[illegible]

इन एक सप्त विष्णुओं के आधार पर अक्षरेर विष्णुविद्यालय का नाम "विष्णुनाम विष्णुविद्यालय" रखने की आवश्यकता के कोई ह्दकार नहीं कर सकता है। पूँति इस वर ही करार करना है अत मेहक सुधाविद्यालय नामक विष्णुविद्यालय सुधाविद्या विष्णुविद्यालय की राति ही अक्षरेर के विष्णुविद्यालय का नाम दवानम विष्णुविद्यालय" रखने की जन मायनको का आधार रखने के उरु निरकार करने की मरुती प्रोत्साह।। ऐशकार के इम वर व हर्माङ्कार मरुति दवानम के प्रती मरुदा समान प्ररुति वरुति।

पण्डित विश्वनाथजी शिवाभारतेश्वर का नाम घोषित

साथ सभाग सम्पन्न करने के लिए निर्धारित वेतन वगैरह का भुगतान करने में १९८७ के लिए अर्द्ध वर्ष के प्रथम तिमाही में अर्ध वार्षिक विवरण की विवरणानुसार का भुगतान किया है। १९८७ वर्ष के विवरणानुसार की है अथवा अर्द्ध वर्ष के प्रथम तिमाही में अर्ध वार्षिक विवरण की विवरणानुसार का भुगतान किया है।

इस पुरस्कार के लिए पुने के विद्यालय को 21000/- की रकम, एक ट्रफी, कबिलनमन एक एक कागज बेंट कर सम्मानित किया जाएगा।

इस वर्षी कार्य समाप्त सामान्यतः एक और महीना पुस्तकार की योग्यता की है। जिसके अनुसार वे वेतनों के विधान एवं अनुमान करने के प्रति-पिन विद्युत्वादी के उपदेश, प्रमाणोपदेश एवं कार्यकारी के रूप में जीवन-पर्यन्त कार्य समाप्त की सेवा की है, ऐसे एक विधान की प्रति-पिन। 1000-की रैली एकत्र टूटती, प्रातिमन्त्र वगैरे एक साल के सम्मानित विद्या साधक

इस इतिहास पुस्तकार ने निम्न उपप्रकरण अपने कवच के मुखस्थित सम्पादक, साहसिक महारथी धूमकीच अथवा स्वामी जी महाराज का प्रयत्न किया गया है।  
 इन वर्ष के अपने उत्साह सम्पादक के सम्पादक को निम्नलिखित के सम्पादक का उपस्थिति में है। यह सम्पादक नई बात के अतिरिक्त उत्साह में सम्पादक किया गया है।

— **कैप्टन देवराज शर्मा**  
**महामन्त्री**

**आचार्य जी का मध्य स्वागत**



बम्बे-२४ काँग्रेस मोर्चा  
मुल्तान प्राप्त कर दिल्ली के बम्बे  
जोदने पर, कार्य समाप्त, बम्बे के  
मन्त्री श्री राजाजी के नेतृत्व में कार्य  
समाप्त किया।

क्या विपक्ष जनताओं के अग्रगण्य  
व कार्यकर्त्ता द्वारा बम्बे के रेलवे  
स्टेशन पर पूरा नाशवाणी द्वारा बम्बे  
जनमत दिया गया ?

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### विद्यार्थियों को सूचना

सुबकोटि की पाठ्यक्रम - पुस्तकें, भाषाओं तथा स्टेजपरी का सभी सामान प्रत्यक्ष निगरानी तरो पर उपलब्ध है। सम्पर्क करें :-



**आर्य वस्तु मण्डार.**

आयसमान भवन,  
केसरवाड, का.अ.मे.प.

कोल कार्य 21010











**बेरोहिलीसोममूलम्**  
वेद ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है ।

सत्य को ग्रहण करने और वास्तव में खोजने में सर्वत्र उद्यत रहना चाहिए

—महर्षि व्यासजी

दयानन्दार्थ 162

सृष्टि सम्बन्ध 1972949087

वर्ष 3 सन्निवार 30 मई 1987  
अंक 7 पृष्ठ-4338/84 II

। जोश्म् ।

# आर्य पुनर्विज्ज

**आर्य समाज, अजमेर का हिन्दी पाक्षिक पत्र**  
“**धर्म हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म ।**  
**जोश्म् हमारा वेद है, सत्य हमारा कर्म ॥”**

अथर्व मित्रादयम् अग्निवादस्य ज्ञातादयम् परोक्षात् ।  
अथर्व नरकमथ्य दिवा न सर्वा भ्रात्रा मम भिन्न भवन्तु ॥

**कुम्भसोर्विचारायाम्**  
सकल जगत् को धार्य बनाए

**हमारा उद्देश्य :**  
सत्य की वर्तमान एवं  
वास्तव में वैदा होने वाली  
समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत  
रखते हुए आद्यसमाज का  
पुनर्मंडन करना है ।

श्वेतदुग्ध 3 सन्त 2044  
वार्षिक मूल्य 15/-, एक प्रति 60 पैसे

**आर्य-विचारकों द्वारा—**

## आर्य समाज की वर्तमान स्थिति पर चिन्ता व्यक्त

आर्यवैदिक सभा के प्रधान स्वामी  
आनन्दबोध जी ने सभा द्वारा आर्य  
समाज की वर्तमान स्थिति के सम्बन्ध  
में बुधवार देर के दिने नियुक्त समिति  
द्वारा प्रस्तुत की गई रिपोर्टों पर  
पुनः व्यापक विचार करने का आदेश  
समिति के सर्वोच्च न्यायाधीश जी  
आर्य को दिया था ।

समिति के सर्वोच्च न्यायाधीश  
जी ने सभा के प्रमुख कार्यकारी  
विभागों की इन सुझावों पर व्यापक

रूप में विचार विमर्श करते हुए निम्न  
लिखित किया : निम्नलिखित आर्य विभागों  
का इस वर्ष में 20, 21 एवं 22  
अप्रैल 1987 को आर्य समाज, अजमेर  
आर्य, नई दिल्ली में आर्य अर्चन के  
सुप्रसिद्ध सन्तानों का स्वामी सत्य-  
प्रकाश जी की अध्यक्षता में सम्मेलन  
हुआ । आर्य विचारकों द्वारा तीन  
दिन तक विचार विमर्श करने के  
परन्तुत इस सम्मिति के प्रत्येक विधुषी  
पर मान्य निष्कर्षों के आधार पर

अंतिम रिपोर्ट तैयार की गयी । 22  
अप्रैल को सभा 5 बजे समिति के  
सर्वोच्च न्यायाधीश (वाक्ते) आर्य  
के नेतृत्व में आर्य विचारकों के निष्कर्ष-  
मन्त्र में अंतिम रिपोर्ट आर्यवैदिक  
सभा के प्रधान स्वामी आनन्दबोध जी  
को प्रस्तुत की । निष्कर्षमन्त्र में सर्व  
की हा दयानन्द प्रकाश, उपसभ्य  
आर्यवैदिक सभा, के वैदिक आर्य  
अवरण परास आर्यवैदिक सभा,  
सौन्दर्यमन्त्र बहदा अवरण सत्य-स-

विचार सभा, मन्त्रमन्त्र बोधार्थ, अत-  
रूप सत्य आर्यवैदिक सभा सम्मिलित  
में ।

आर्य अर्चन की जानकारी हेतु  
हल निष्कर्षमन्त्र द्वारा आर्यवैदिक  
सभा प्रधान को दिया जाएगा, स्वामी  
अध्यक्षता का आदेश को वेतावनी  
पूर्व उपबोधन सभा समिति की  
अंतिम रिपोर्ट को अंतिम रूप में  
प्रकाशित कर रहे हैं ।

—संपादक

## शिष्टमंडल द्वारा स्वामी आनन्दबोध जी को दिया गया ज्ञापन

**विषय**—आर्य समाज के सचबं में सभा  
द्वारा नियुक्त उपसमिति की  
रिपोर्टें ।

माननीय स्वामी जी,

आर्यवैदिक सभा द्वारा सन्  
1982 में आर्य समाज की वर्तमान  
स्थिति तथा आर्य कार्यक्रम के सम्बन्ध  
में आचार्य वसन्तेश्वर (वाक्ते) आर्य के  
सर्वोच्चस्थ में सर्व को स्वामी विद्या-  
नन्द जी करतवी, श्री. देवसिंह जी  
प्रधान, हरिवंश आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा  
की बोरेलबी, प्रधान, आर्य प्रतिनिधि  
सभा पंचायत तथा का अग्रणीभास की  
अध्यक्ष दयानन्द बोधार्थ पञ्चम  
विषयविचारक, पञ्चमेश्वर जी को उप  
समिति नियुक्त की गई थी, उनकी  
आचार्य रिपोर्टें सन् 1983 में सभा  
को प्रस्तुत की गईं । जिस पर आपके  
आदेशानुसार एक समिति ने सम्बन्धित  
संशोधन की प्रक्रिया के सम्बन्ध में  
सन् 1983 और पुनः सन् 1986 में  
अंतिम न्यायाधीश, प्रतिनिधि सभाओं और

प्रमुख आर्य विभाग सुलभ की समि-  
तिवर्ग प्राप्त की गई, जिनके स्थिति है  
कि उप समिति की प्रतिनिधि रिपो-  
रटों की बहुमत का स्वागत और  
समर्थन प्राप्त हुआ है ।

आपके द्वारा इस रिपोर्ट पर प्राप्त  
सम्मतियों के बारे में और अधिक  
व्यापक रूप से विचार करने की आग्रह-  
प्रवृत्ति का आदेश नई और तत्काल  
आदेशों के अन्तर्गत सर्वोच्च महोदय में  
देख कर के लगभग 20-25 आर्य  
प्रतिनिधियों का एक सम्मेलन निय-  
मित किया ।

इसका प्रथम अधिवेशन हा  
स्वामी सत्यप्रकाश जी की अध्यक्षता  
में 20 अक्टूबर 1987 को आर्य समाज  
अजमेर आर्य देहली में सम्पन्न हुआ ।  
सन् 5 वषर अध्यक्ष पद से स्वामीजी ने  
आर्य समाज के सैद्धांतिक पद्धतियों  
तथा नीतिपूर्ण-कार्यों और इतिहास  
की गूढ़ दृष्टि में उनकी वर्तमान  
स्थिति तथा समस्याओं पर अपना  
निष्कर्ष एवं सुझाव लायिक विचारक

प्रस्तुत किया । जो सभा आदेशन के  
साथ सम्मेलन है । सर्वोच्च महोदय ने  
उपसमिति की नियुक्ति और उसकी  
रिपोर्ट पर 3 वर्षों के भी नई कार्य-  
वाही से उपस्थित सम्मेलनों को प्रभावित  
कराया । सत्यप्रकाश उपसमिति आर्य  
विचारकों ने अपने-अपने विचार व्यक्त  
करते हुए आर्य समाज की वर्तमान  
स्थिति पर चिन्ता करते हुए और  
उसके सामने उपस्थित समस्याओं का  
वर्णन करते हुए अनेक सुझाव दिये ।  
श्री मोहनलाल जी गोहिल (मोहितक)  
की भी उपस्थिति होकर अपने विचार  
व्यक्त किये ।

अन्त में सर्व सम्मिति ने निश्चित  
किया सभा कि कर वर्षों 21 अक्टूबर  
को प्रातः 10 बजे पुनः सम्मेलन की  
सैठक का आयोजन बाब के सुझावों  
अनुसार उपसमिति के प्रत्येक विधुषी  
पर विचार करने के बाद उसे आर्यवैदिक  
सभा द्वारा नीति कार्य करने के लिए  
प्रस्तुत किया जाय ।

सन्निवार आज वि 21-4-87

को स्वामी सत्यप्रकाश जी की  
अध्यक्षता में पुनः आचार्य रिपोर्ट के  
प्रत्येक विधुषी पर विचार करने के  
परन्तुत कुछ संशोधनों के बाद उप-  
समिति की रिपोर्टें विचार रूप में  
स्वीकार की गईं व साथ सम्मेलन है ।

सर्वोच्च के प्रतिनिधित सम्मेलन  
में आर्यवैदिक सभा की अवरण सभा  
के को सत्य उपस्थित में, उन सबके  
हस्ताक्षरों से यह संशोधित रिपोर्टें  
अब आपकी सेवा में प्रस्तुत हैं ।  
आशा है कि नई वर्षों के विचार-  
धीन इस सत्यमन्त्र महोदयों प्रथम पर  
आर्यवैदिक सभा अपनी विशेष सैठक  
समाधीय बुधवार दृष्ट बुधवार की  
कार्यसमिति करेगी और उनमें से जिनके  
लिए आवश्यक हो उन पर आर्यसमाज  
के उपसमिति तथा आर्यवैदिक सभा के  
संशोधन में अन्तरी संशोधन करने के  
लिए दुरुत कार्यवाही करेगी ।

हम हैं आपके धार्य अन्तु  
वि म के सत्यों के हस्ताक्षर  
△ △



## सम्पादकीय

एक नजर इधर—

## धर्म समाज का पुनर्गठन क्यों ?

महर्षि दयानन्द मार्वती ने 7 अगस्त 1875 ई. में धर्म पुनर्गठन प्रतिपदा को बनई नवरी के आद्य समाज की स्थापना की थी। 1975 ई. भारत की गणराज्यी दिवसी में आद्य समाज की स्थापना सतासी बनाई गई थी। उस अवसर पर आद्य समाज की निराट प्रथम वार्षिक का दिव्यमंत्र हुआ था। जो जयध्वज का कण्ठ में गवगवमान हो रहे थे उनमें से एक था 'आद्य समाज न क्या बिना, ही हाल में कामाल बिना।' समुपस्थित स्वामी श्रदानन्द, प. वैद्यराय, गुरुप्रसादी, लाला राजपतराय, स्वामी दर्शनानन्द, स्वामी स्वतन्त्रानन्द जी के समय आद्यसमाज की कानूनी विचारधारा का बहुत तेजी से विस्तार हुआ था और यह सही धर्मों में एक सार्वभौमिक समष्टि बन गया। देश-विदेश में पांच हजार के लगभग धर्म समाजों का स्थापित हो चुका है, हमारी को मजबूत में स्थापित कालन, गौडाला, मुजुन्द, स्वाधित हो चके। भारत के पुनर्निर्माण के रास्ते में आद्य समाज का अग्रगण्य योगदान रहा। तमसुध धर्म समाज का औरतपुत्र इतिहास रहा है।

नौर धर्मन पक्षों की देखकर आनन्द ने नियम होकर मूल उद्देश्य है मनुष्य जब अपने पैरों को बंधता है तो प्राज्ञ के अधुषारा प्रवर्तित होन कचनी है। ठीक सही स्थिति आज स्थापना के 112 वर्ष बाद आद्य समाज की है। हम आज आध्यात्मिकता की आवश्यकता है। यदि वह कुछ धर्म की धाज आध्यात्मिकता न बनायीं तो मनुष्य ह्रा गया है। चुनावी दल-दल में आद्यसमाज का समस्त ऊपर से नीचे तक फूटपट्टी, गुट-बाजो, कुर्बानियों का विचार होकर अपना मूलमूल्य 'सदाचार उपकार' कलात इस समाज का मुख्य उद्देश्य है। तथा 'कृष्णमो विद्यमायुध' से बहुत स्थिति हट गया है। बंदी क आचार को भुला बैठा है। आद्य समाज न युवकों का नहीं के बराबर प्रवेश हो रहा है। नूतन लोग स-संगों में आ जात हैं, सखियों में उपस्थिति भी नहीं के (सोय पुट्ट चार पर)

## सम्मेजन के अग्रिम स्थायी सत्यप्रकाशों का आगों के नाम सेतःवनी पूर्ण उद्बोधन

## अर्थ समाज की वर्तमान स्थिति व भविष्य



स्वामी सत्यप्रकाश जी

- 1 1975 में धर्म समाज की स्थापना हुई एक ती वर्ष हो गये। अब इसका प्रवेश दूसरी सदी में चल रहा है।
- 2 आद्य समाज के माथ धपने देख में प्राचीन समाज बहुत समाज, राम-कृष्ण मिशन आदि अनेक सत्संगों में जगमगा रहा। इसने कई सत्संगों में मिशन हो गई कुछ आगे बढ़ी और कुछ कई सत्संग उत्पन्न हुई। आद्य समाज के विरोध में सतान धर्म सत्संग, राम-राम परियष, हिन्दू महासभा, विश्व हिन्दू परिषद, राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक सच आदि नमचाए उत्पन्न हुई। कुछ ने आद्य समाज का प्रत्यक्ष विरोध किया और कुछ के माथ हमारा स्नेह सम्बन्ध की रहा। इस स्नेह का हमारी प्रतिनिधि पर उचित न अनुचित तथा प्रत्यक्ष न परोक्ष प्रभाव पड़ा।
- 3 सभी विश्वव्यापी आधोपन पिछले की गड की बर्मा न जन्मे, बडे तथा विकल हुए तथा कुछ समस्त की ही गए और कुछ की कुर-रक्षाए पुनर्स्थापित हो गई।
- 4 सभी महान् जान्दोषों का पिछले इतिहास का विवरण रहा है।
- 5 आज की इन विचार गोष्ठी का उद्देश्य भी आद्य समाज का मूल रूप न बदलना एक सदा अधिक्य इन तीनों पर विचार करना है। प्रसन्नता की बात है कि सार्व-देशिक सभा के तत्कालीन में तथा की बान्मे जी के सयोग

में और मेरी अध्यक्षता में आप यह गोष्ठी कर रहे हैं।

- 6 आपकी पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता है कि इस गोष्ठी में सम्मिलित हो सतस आदेशों की ओर कर आप चिन्तन करें। कभी-कभी मैं भी अपने कुछ विचार दूंगा तथा बान्मे जी की देंगे। पर आप नि सक और उदारता से इन पर विचार करें।
- 7 महर्षि दयानन्द ने बडे विस्तार से अपने सिद्धांतों की हमारे समक्ष रखा। यह हमारी धारा बिना है। इसका साथ लोने कि कही हम इन मौलिक सिद्धांतों से समझौता करने की सो तैयार नहीं हो गये। विशेषतया अपने पंडीत से हिन्दुओं के साथ। मेरा ऐसा क्या है कि बहुत सी बातों में हमने उनके समक्ष अपना सिद्धांत पक्ष (मूर्ति पूजा न अन्ध-शरावाद) स्पष्ट रखाया सब कर दिया है। उसका ही यह प्रभाव हुआ कि स्वतन्त्रता के बाद हिन्दुओं में अनेक पुत्र, अनेक बाबा न ने वैसी वैसा उत्पन्न हो गये। तथा अनेक अन्य विचार बडे। क्या यह सब हमारी निर्देश की बजह से तो नहीं हुआ बिना देख आगे नहीं गया तथा पीछे गया और नैतिकता की दृष्टि से भी राष्ट्र का पतन हुआ।
- 8 आद्य समाज न केवल भारतीय हिन्दुओं के लिए था इसका दृष्टिकोण मानव मान के लिये था। क्या इन पर आप विचार करने की इच्छा रखेंगे कि हम भारतीय कुछ सप्रत्यक्ष मातर धर्म से बाहर भी विश्वियों में प्रचलित हुए, लेकिन आर्य समाज हिंदी भाषी हिन्दुओं के बीच में क्यों केन्द्रित रहे गये।
- 9 आर्य समाज के दल सिद्धांत तथा वेद के मतमूल्य सबकी स्वीकार्य है। क्या हमने साथ ही साथ यह भी सोचा कि इनकी मानता ही केवल वैदिक धर्म नहीं है। अपनी मजबूतानी परम्पराओं से हटकर आज की कलना ही आवश्यक है। उदाहरणतया मेरी अपनी बान्मा है कि—जो मूर्ति पूजा करता है, उसकी बल करने का कोई अधिक्य

कार नहीं है। यज्ञ के कर्म होने से प्रविष्टा धारम्य हुई। और जब भी मूर्ति पूजा परमात्मा धार प्राकृतिक बान्मे के स्वात में ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तियों, काय-निक पिन्ना तथा वयस्कार में आस्था रखते हैं। कहा बान्मा तथा ही जानी है। मेरा बान्माय है कि अनेक हिन्दू की बान्मा हीमा कि वैदिक सिद्धांती बान्मे के लिए आपने वैसी ही आस्थाए छोड़ी नहीं होयी।

- 10 क्या ऐसा था लक्ष्मी है कि भारतीय राजनीतिक परिस्थितियों के कारण हमने सुप्रसन्नता में बईसादी के प्रति कटुता उत्पन्न कर दी है। तथा यह कटुता हमारे रक्तों में बिधेयो के काय करने के लिए माझक हो रही है। जो प्यार हमने अपने बडोसी हिन्दू की यहा बिना है, बडो प्यार हमें बिधेयो में बडो के गोडों, ईसाईयों तथा मुसलमानों को बना हुआ है। मैं कोई भी बात आपसे बान्मह पूर्वक नहीं कर रहा हूँ। आप स्वतन्त्रता पुनर् विचार करें।
- 11 हमने कभी सचानन्द के लिए आर्य समाज प्रतिनिधि समाए, सार्वदेशिक सभा न आद्य प्रकार के समस्त बनाए हैं। आपकी सचान्ता होना कि क्या से समस्त आद्य विषय का काम नो नहीं कर रहे हैं। महर्षि दयानन्द ने इन युग की स्थितियों को समझते हुए हमें जनताधिक समस्त प्रस्तावों दी थी। क्या हमारे समस्त की बलमान स्थिति किसी दूसरी पिना में चिन्तन करने के लिए तो बान्मा नहीं कर रही है। क्या आर्य समाज की जना आद्य उनकी ही अवैदिक तो नहीं हो गई, जिसकी देख की समस्त जलता। धर्म क्या परम्परा की कर्मह महर्षि दयानन्द की कर्मना का बान्मह विकल रूप तो नहीं है।
- 12 मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हिन्दू भारतीय समाज का मूलतम स्तर (बीरो सेवर) है। जो भी कोई बान्मा वाले इस देख के अपनी बान्माओं से निर्माता वह हिन्दू कहलाने सोचा। बाहे नई हो, बाहे मातलक था धर्म सप्रत्यक्ष सत्ते और आर्य समाज की अपनी बान्माओं से विरुद्ध हिन्दू बन जायेगा। कुछे कुछे-कुछ ऐसा बान्माय बिचलता है। ©





प्रारम्भ से ही आय समाज के सत्य की प्रगु ता रही है और स्व विद्वानों वैदिक मान्यताओं के प्रचार का मुख्य साधन रहा है। वर्तमान समय में भी सत्य सगठन के मुख्य के इ के रूप में विद्यमान है और इसके माध्यम से ही वैदिक धर्म की जागकारी जनसमुदाय की की जाती है। अतः उपर्युक्त वृत्ति विषय के सत्य में जो तथ्य सामने आये हैं वह इस प्रकार हैं —

यह तथ्य महत्वपूर्ण है कि आय के प्रथम उत्तरदाता आय समाज के सत्य में नियमित रूप से जाते हैं अथवा उन्हें इस बारे में सत्य के कार्यक्रमों के सचेतन है। दूसरी ओर 15 प्रतिशत व्यक्ति भी हैं जो सत्य में वधि रहते हैं लेकिन समयमात्र के कारण सत्य में नियमित रूप से नहीं जा पाते हैं। एक प्रतिशत इस कारण से सत्य में नहीं जा पाते हैं पर तो आय-समाज प्रथम उनके गमन में नहीं है अथवा उनके निवास से बहुत दूरी पर है।

कुछ उत्तरदाताओं की यह भी शिकायत है कि आय समाज के सत्य के कार्यक्रम कम अधिकृत होते हैं। इसी कारण लगभग 7 प्रतिशत की प्रतिशत होने पर भी सत्य में उपस्थित नहीं होते हैं। 4 प्रतिशत के अनुसार उनकी आय समाज और उसके सत्य में धारणा नहीं है यद्यपि वे भी बहुत धनवान् करते हैं कि आय समाज एक राष्ट्रहित चिन्तक सुधारक सत्ता है तथापि किन्हीं कारणों से वे सत्य में प्रथमा उसके कार्यक्रमों में सहयोग प्रदान नहीं करते हैं।

स्पष्ट है कि सत्यम एक तिहाई उत्तरदाता सत्य में नियमित रूप से नहीं जाते हैं जिसके कारण आय-राशि है। वास्तव में आय समाज के सत्यमो एक कार्यक्रम की प्रथम उपयुगी तथा तोरधिय बनाने की आवश्यकता अनुभव की जाती रही है। यह भी एक तथ्य है कि सत्य में अधिकार रूप से वे ही व्यक्ति जाते हैं जो समाज के सत्य हैं।

सदस्य बनने के सम्बन्ध में सत्यम आय समाज के वरिष्ठ की धारणा से जोर प्रीत केत हितकारक, समाज सुधारक प्रवृत्ति रूप में प्रारम्भ से केन्द्र अन्वेषित चयन वाली विचार साधनी में प्रवर्धित हो रहा है। इसी कारण से समाज के कार्यक्रम सत्यमो

## सत्यं समाज की कार्यविधि, सगठन, पुनगठन एक समाज साक्षरता अध्ययन (गताक्त से आये)

### सत्संग में उपस्थिति के प्रति दृष्टिकोण

सकलन कर्ता—डा. कृष्णपाल सिंह देवानंद मोक्षपीठ धनद्वे

के प्रति जागती की प्रतिबन्धि बनी हुई है दूसरे समाज के दम नियम भी सावधानीपूर्ण रूप से होने से व्यक्ति समाज के सत्यम बनने की धर्मितावा रखते रहे हैं। वर्तमान समय में हमने उत्तरदाताओं से समाज क सदस्य बनने के विषय में जागकारी जाननी पड़ी तो निर्मात्र दृष्टिकोण प्राप्त हुआ है।

65 प्रतिशत से आधे समाज के सदस्य बनने की दृष्टिमा अभिव्यक्त

की है। जबकि 37 प्रतिशत उत्तरदाताओं ने अपनी स्पष्ट राय नहीं प्रदान की है। इसके कारणों पर आय समाज के उत्तरदाताओं ने तृप्त या की विशेषरूप से ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। 3 प्रतिशत ने सदस्य न बनने के सम्बन्ध में अपना दृष्टिकोण अभिव्यक्त किया है। अतः सत्यमो के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि समाज के सिद्धांती एक कार्यविधि के प्रति आस्था होने से दो

तिहाई उत्तरदाताओं ने सदस्य बनने के सत्य में अपनी राय दी है। दूसरे तिहाई स्पष्ट राय नहीं वा है उनके कारणों पर समीर विषय तथा अनुभवम की आवश्यकता है।

#### सत्यता स्थानों के कारण

उपर्युक्त सत्यमो से यह तथ्य स्पष्ट विदित हो रहा है कि 32 प्रतिशत उत्तरदाताओं ने सदस्य बनने अथवा न बनने के कोई स्पष्ट राय नहीं दी है। इस कारण से यह जानना भी आवश्यक हो गया कि क्या इन व्यक्तियों ने प्रथमा अथ व्यक्तियों न समाज की सदस्यता स्थान न है यदि स्थान दी है तो उसके क्या कारण हो सकते हैं? इस विषय में हमने उत्तरदाताओं से जो तथ्य प्राप्त हुए हैं वे निम्न प्रकार हैं —

19 प्रतिशत उत्तरदाताओं ने यह सम्मति अभिव्यक्त की है कि उनकी प्रथम से आस्था हो गई है इन कारणों से सत्यता स्थान की है अथवा सदस्य न बनने की सम्मति दा है। 8 प्रतिशत व्यक्तियों ने सत्यता स्थान का यह कारण देताया है कि 'उनका अथ आय सत्यमो से सम्बन्ध है। 4 प्रतिशत के सिद्धांतम आधारमा या प्रथमा है। इस कारण सत्यता स्थान की है। जबकि 60 प्रतिशत व्यक्तियों ने अपनी कोई स्पष्ट राय नहीं दी है। इसका कारण यह भी हो सकता है या तो वे व्यक्ति समाज के सत्य है अथवा बनने के इच्छुक हैं।

(विषय आगामी अंक में)

#### — प्रारम्भ अंक —

① सत्य और राजनीति

— प्र. कृष्णदेव शिवलाल

② सनातन धर्म का सम्बन्ध

— डा. महादेव चतुर्वेदी

③ डा. कृष्णपाल सिंह के लेख की अंतिम किस्त

कविशर लालनसिंह भदौरिया की कविता।

प्रार्थसमाज मसूदा का निर्वाचन

प्रधान — दुर्गेसिंह

सचिव — जवाहरलाल देवल

कोषाध्यक्ष — उदयसिंह चान्दल

पुस्तकान्वेषक — देवमुनि धाय

## और फूटेगी

— लालनसिंह भदौरिया सौमित्र —

भोर फूटेगी अथवा रात रह सकती नहीं है।

उठ रहा ऐस प्रभा घर में कि दम ही दम पट रहा है।

यह अथवा है कि उपवन मालिनी के फूल उठा रहा है।

आ रही अथवा उगो की स्वभवा क्षमा हुई है

लग रहा है आतकण रूप से अथवा उठ रहा है।

पीर के मुख पर हृदयी रक्त 'पुष्पा' धाते हो-

कान्ति की धाराज ऐस आत रह सकती नहीं है।

भोर फूटेगी अथवा रात रह सकती नहीं है ॥

सैय की काफ़ी पगीला हो चुकी है हो रहा है

शैल का यह प्रथम मत समझो- बगान लो रही है

देवती वप सत्य अंतिम सत्य अब सेती नहीं है-

अथ की हर प्रथम विषय बीज पवन पनो रही है।

प्रामुखी के प्रथम से देवों मंगल जल उठी है।

धाम की मेहरमान बन बरसात रह सकती नहीं है।

भोर फूटेगी अथवा रात रह सकती नहीं है ॥

सत्य के माज निष्पत्ती केसर की भर चुकी है

पौष्पा बन पुन सिद्धा अन्तेतिमा सत्य कर चुकी है।

पवि के सग कर दिखे हैं तम पिता के हाथ पीने

अथ विवाह का सती अथार रजनी कर चुकी है।

सो उपा ने माय में सिद्ध कर का घर बिपा है-

सारकी की यह अटल धारात रह सकती नहीं है।

भोर फूटेगी अथवा रात रह सकती नहीं है ॥

नृप का रक्त बा रहा है जगमाता नव-किरण से

सत्य के नृप रजनि हैं कान्ति के उठते चरण से,

भोर धाम-विभोर हो मिलने बसा है वसिष्ठ से

सो प्रभाती के नुनो स्वर पक्षियों के जगल से

अनुभावी की मुग्धे अथवा कान्ति सेरी-

अहिमो से बच स्वरिण रात रह सकती नहीं है।

भोर फूटेगी अथवा रात रह सकती नहीं है ॥

पता—मोक्षपुरा नैमपुरी (उ प्र



बाल सदन हेतु जपने की कमाई 30 हजार रुपये का बचत सदन के प्रधान दत्तात्रय शर्मा को देते हुए दानव्रता मंगलचंद ।

## अनुकरणीय दान

सन्तान 17 वर्ष। स्थानीय प्रभु  
मानव विपत्ती कीजलमय वेला  
ने अपने परिवार को सुरक्षित की जा  
रही उपजा से प्रसिद्ध हुकर अपने  
जीवन भर की सारी कमाई 30 000  
रुपये दानव बांध सबन हेतु सबन  
के प्रधान आश्रम वस्तात्र व जाय को  
दान कर दी है।

सबसे प्रचुर थी वसन्त ऋतु की  
ने देवास्त्राधी के दान को जगुद्धर  
शनीय बताते हुए कहा कि इससे

पूव की हूँ कई व्यक्तियों ने जाओ  
 अपने अपने के नाम से लिखे हैं। परन्तु  
 स्व का सुपदेश की सर्वा व देखाजा  
 की के यान की विषय महूव देता  
 हू क्योंकि इन लोगों महामुजाबी ने  
 अपने जीवनी की सारी पंक्ति कमाल  
 रान देती है। एवं अपने प्रत्यक्ष के  
 मुजाबरे के लिए एक पता भी अपने  
 पता नहीं देता। बाबाय की ने भी  
 यान की शाखास्त देखा कि समस्त  
 बायकी जीवनपथ की कष्ट नहीं  
 देता देगा।

### वैदिक गणित : सर्वश्रेष्ठ गणित

बैबिक बतलित की किताब उन  
 बच्चों किताबों में है जो बेसरी हो  
 वास्तव में है विनोती बिराहों में।  
 दुस्मक और अमेरिका के तमाम बच्चों  
 लिखित सधाना के बच्चों गलित  
 पढ़ाना यह रहा है। नवम स्तुभ का  
 इकोनोमिक्स में वह किताब और है।  
 है। अमेरिका आस्ट लिखा जोर हासक  
 है की कोस में पढ़े पढ़ाना जाता है।  
 नवम के ही पढ़ी वाक सेंटर में किता  
 हास एक कोम पढ़ाना या रहा है  
 जिनमें बच्चों बच्चों है कि 10+2  
 प्रणाली के समकक्ष बहो की कक्षाओं  
 का गणित बच्चों किताब प्रणाली  
 द्वारा पढ़ाना या सफा है बल पूर्ण  
 क्या भारतीय बच्चों बैबिक गणित  
 पर दुस्मक और अमेरिका में भाषाना

रिपत हो रही है। जब तक चार  
हज़ार की क्षमताओं की पुष्टि हो  
जाये पूरी के अनुसार बसिब बसिब  
की योजनाबद्धता का एक बार एक  
हमारी योजनाबद्धता उपयोगी हो  
जाये। हमारे केवल की बड़े रोज  
बसिब बसिब का सच्चा करने से  
हमारी बसिब बसिब पाठ्यक्रम के  
बराबर केवल बसिब की बसिब  
हमारी है। बसिब की ऐसी समग्र  
प्रतिबिम्बिताओं के बसिब केवल  
का प्रयोग बसिब है। बसिब बसिब  
प्रणाली का नाम बसिब है। बसिब  
हमारी की बसिब बसिब है। बसिब  
बसिब केवल बसिब की बसिब बसिब  
बसिब का बसिब का बसिब।

— बसिब बसिब के बसिब बसिब

संस्थागत प्रशासनिक कार्यों में हिन्दी को प्रमुखता दे

दिल्ली बी ए पी कालेज प्रबंधकर्ता समिति ने अपने मंत्री सस्था प्रमुखों को सस्था के प्रशासनिक कार्यों में हिन्दी का प्रयोग करने का निश्चय लिया है।

समिति के सगठन सचिव श्री दरबारीलाल ने दि 13 4 87 व 27 4 87 को सस्था प्रमुखों को भेज गये अपने परिपत्रों में उक्त विवरण दिया है।

श्री परजारीलाल ने सच्चा प्रयत्नो से यह भी जगुरोश किया है कि वे छात्रों को अभिवादन के लिये नमस्ते शब्द का प्रयोग करने की प्रेरणा दें तथा नेकट्याई को उनकी वेशभूषा से पृथक् कर दें।

स्वत्वाधिकार प्राय समाज भजमेर के लिए व प्रकाशक एव सपादक  
केमरगज भजमेर मे मुद्रित एव प्राय समाज भवन भजमेर से प्रकाशित

### हिन्दू नाम से जोड़ना क्या मतलब है

— श्रीराम कृष्ण धार्य —

महाविद्यालय को माय हिन्दुओं के साथ जोड़कर रखना या उन तक ही सीमित करना, यही के प्रति सम्मान है। छात्र-जन-साथ-जगत के मुख्य मान्य विद्वान् मैत्रा भी स्वामी जी की माय एक हिन्दु सुधारक निहित करने से तुल्य हुए हैं। इन धर्मात्मियों में दो प्रकार के व्यक्ति हैं। प्रथम जो अपने निहित स्वामी के बलबुद्ध हो ऐसा कहते या बिचले हैं। द्वितीय—जो स्वयमा परिस्थितियों में ऐसे किछ जानें वे ही ऐसे समग्र का हित समझते हैं।

तोही है। हाँ, सिविल प्रकर के व्यक्ति प्रमत्त एसा मनु रहे हैं। और उनका कोई निजी स्वार्थ इसमें नहीं है। परन्तु मन्त्रिपर के प्रति अपराध ता मनु भी कर रहे हैं। जैसे ही जन-मान्य में कर रहे हों।

इस संघ में मानवीय भाषायाँ देवस्योमी अक्षरी के शुद्ध मन्वीय हैं। उनका मन्त्र है—“महर्षि कृष्णानन्द वेद्विन्ना नाटक किरी बर्न के लिए कुछ नहीं जानते-मात्र के उत्थान का बीड़ा उठाया था। कार्य समाप्त को मात्र दिव्य मात्र के चोकरा महर्षि कृष्णानन्द का भाषायाँ है”।

हमारी क्षति में प्रथम प्रकार के व्यक्ति ही निर्विवाद रूप से क्षति-

०००००००० ३ मई, १९८१

अर्थ, सामान्य मकानों के मुद्दा 'अर्थव्यवस्था' में है।

**प्रो० वसुधाश्रैय शर्मा द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकें**

- 1 देश खय और हिंदू समाज को भाव समाज की बेस—मूल्य 0.50 वीसे  
2 हमारी राष्ट्रीयता का छासुर—मूल्य 1.00  
3 भावना बहिसा—मूल्य 0.50 वीसे  
4 बी भाव समाज हिंदू विद्यात हिंदू धर्म (अधेवी)—विशेष लिखावटी हर  
5 75.00  
6 भाव समाज हिंदू धर्म का समाजवादी मही मूल्य—50 प  
7 कथन प्रकाशन  
8 भाव समाज (हिन्दी) मूल्य सनित्त 20.00 प अतिमूल्य 16.00  
9 से नामा भावनापत्र  
10 2 भाव शिक्षा (भाग 1 से 1 तक)—मूल्य का मूल्य 32.00  
11 3 समाजवादी का उद्देश—मूल्य 3.00  
12 4 परिचय निरदिष्टता (असत्य देश विश्व की भाव शिक्षा सहायों का  
13 परिचय)—मूल्य 12.00

सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश ग्रन्थ माला -15 भाग

[ प्रत्येक समुल्लास पर स्वतंत्र टैबल ]

- |                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 ईश्वर एक नाम प्रणेक      | 9 स्वर्ग और नरक कहाँ है ?      |
| 2 भावक न ठा पठाता          | 10 कौनो वस्तु मे क्या मही है ? |
| 3 किन्ना और चरित्र विचारसु | 11 दू कौनो की निम्नता          |
| 4 दुस्व्यापम का महत्त्व    | 12 जोड़ और जैन मत              |
| 5 छ हाथी कीन और कैसे हो ?  | 13 देवा और ईसाई मत             |
| 6 राज्य व्यवस्था           | 14 इस्लाम और कथिक धर्म         |
| 7 ईश्वर और वेद             | 15 सत्य का क्या तथा प्रकाश     |
| 8 बन्धन की उत्पत्ति        |                                |

विशेष—मनी ट्रस्ट द्वारा अथर्व के पोटी के विद्वानों के द्वारा लिखित है।  
एक सम्मान का सम्पादन धार्मिक समाज कार्य के प्रधान प्रो. हस्तावली  
द्वारा किया है। सम्मान के पूरे सेट का मूल्य 8/ रुपये है।

## क्या आप सोचते हैं

दयानन्द (स्नातकोत्तर) कनिष्ठ स्तर पर १०० प्रतिशत से अधिक अंकों पर परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण करने वाले छात्रों को प्रो. १०००/- प्र मा. बतला १५०० २५०० में प्राप्ति प्रतीति है। योग्यताएं निम्न प्रकार होती हैं।

- 1 मान्यता प्राप्त विषयविद्यालय से एम ए वा एच डी डिग्री सम्पन्न  
अथवा यशमतामय से द्वितीय श्रेणी
- 2 दत्त चयन का स्नातकोत्तर कक्षाओं का पढाने का अनुभव
- 3 जनसञ्चयन कार्य का अनुभव अथवा योग्यता  
कोविट एवं मान्यता प्राप्त विद्यालय को मान्य योग्यतापत्रों से सुट ।

**आवेदन—अग्नी आसलभाब सिखा लभा अजमेर की करें ।**

**कार्यालय प्रधीक्षक**

द्वयानन्द कलिका अचलनर



## सम्पादकीय

नई शिक्षा नीति में—

## संस्कृत पर कुठाराघात असह्य

भारत सरकार द्वारा उद्घोषित नई शिक्षा नीति के अन्तर्गत संस्कृत को सर्वथा उपेक्षित कर दिया गया है। पहले तृतीय भाषा के अन्तर्गत इसका बोधा बहुत अध्ययन होता था परन्तु अब देखिए भारतीय भाषा की विभाषा सूच में स्थान देने पर 'संस्कृत' नहीं पीछी के लिये सर्वथा अन्यायी हो जायेगी। सार्वभौमिक आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा के धातुन पर देश की समस्त आर्य समाजों ने 10 मई को संस्कृत विषय भवाकर तथा नई शिक्षा नीति के अन्तर्गत संस्कृत की उपेक्षा का विरोधकर मातृ सरकार से अनुरोध किया है कि संस्कृत का अध्ययन अत्याधुनिक पूर्ववत् तथा ठोस रूप में जारी रखा जाय। उच्च प्राथमिक तथा माध्यमिक स्तर पर संस्कृत का ज्ञान कराना अत्यावश्यक है।

संस्कृत देवभाषा है। यह हमारे प्राचीन धर्म, भाषा, नीति, इतिहास साहित्य और सभ्यता की मातृभाषा है। संस्कृत है तो भारत है, संस्कृत है तो भारतीय सभ्यता है, संस्कृत है तो भारतीयता है, संस्कृत है तो धर्म है, संस्कृत है तो आर्यत्व है।

संस्कृत के बल पर ही भारत प्राचीनकाल में विश्वप्रसिद्ध कहलाता था। संस्कृत विद्या और ज्ञान का अग्रगण्य साधन है। वेद उपनिषद्, गीता, रामायण महाभारत सब संस्कृत में हैं। समस्त प्राचीन वाङ्मय संस्कृत में हैं। संस्कृत मर्मभूत भारतीय भाषाओं की जननी है। उत्तरी भारत की आर्य परिवार की भाषाएँ तो संस्कृत की पुत्रियाँ हैं ही, दक्षिण की द्रविड भाषाभाषा में 70 से 75% तक संस्कृत के शब्द हैं। राष्ट्रीय एकता की प्रबल नीति संस्कृत ही है।

महर्षि दयानन्द सरस्वती ने प्रत्येक आर्य समाज के लिये संस्कृत का ज्ञान अत्यावश्यक बताया था। आर्य समाज ने अपने स्थापना काल से ही अपनी पाठशाला और विद्यालयों में संस्कृत के अध्ययन-अध्यापन की ओर ध्यान दिया। मुन्मुकुती शिक्षा का हा मरुतुन बलिदान अग है।

अतः संस्कृत की उपेक्षा भारतीय संस्कृति और धर्म पर कुठाराघात है जो सर्वथा असह्य है।

भारत सरकार द्वारा समय रहते पुनर्विचार कर संस्कृत को उसका उपयुक्त स्थान देना चाहिये।

—रासासिंह

पत्र बीसते हैं—

## नाम न हों, काम चाहिए

आपने पत्र का नाम अत्यन्त उपयोगी रखा है। पर कार्य क्या हो सकेगा? इस विषयित समाज को ठीक करना कठिन है।

—सुरेसचन्द्र बेडालकर

आर्य समाज मार्ग गोरखपुर (उ० प्र०)

रासिक का पत्र—

## आर्यजगत् को जगाने वाला

यह पत्र महत्त्वपूर्ण है। आर्यजगत् को जगाने वाला है। परमाध्यक्ष है। मैं इसकी उत्तरोत्तर उन्नति चाहता हूँ।

—रणबर्मासिंह,

भूपति-भवन अग्रेडी (उ० प्र०)

## शुभ—विवाह

डा ए आ अर्चना माध्यमिक विद्यालय, अजमेर के प्रसालाचार्य का आर्य समाज अजमेर क मंत्री की गतामिह की की मुमुषी ली पुष्पा का पि अर्चना समाज क एव अजमेर का सदन की ली अग्रेडी का पि अर्चना समाज क अजमेर 3 जून 10 जून का शुभ विवाह सम्पन्न हुआ।

आर्य पुनर्वसन परिवार की ओर क नन्दनसिंहों की हार्दिक शुभकामनाएँ।

## उपसमिति की रिपोर्ट सराहनीय है

मैं आर्य समाज अजमेर के मुख पत्र 'आर्य पुनर्वसन' का निम्नलिखित अध्ययन करता हूँ, पत्र के 30 मई के अंक में की वसन्तमेव की आर्य द्वारा सार्वभौमिक आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा की प्रस्तुत वस्तुस्थितियों के अध्ययन का अथर्व प्राप्त हुआ। नि सन्देश की आर्य की वस्तुस्थितियाँ सामयिक, उपयुक्त और स्वागत योग्य हैं, किन्तु, क्या ये कार्य रूप में परिणित हों तबकी? स्वामी सत्य प्रकाश की का अथर्व अधिक सारगर्भित एवं मार्मिक है।

आशा है कि यह पत्र अथर्व में और अधिक शिक्षा प्रव विचारधारा मानव समाज के समक्ष रखने में सफल होगा।

—मन्मोहन कुमार शर्मा  
रामगढ़, अजमेर।

## सार्वभौमिक सभा की लियें

आर्य आचार्यों की,

13, 14 जून की होने वाली सार्वभौमिक सभा की अन्तर्गत के एजेण्डे में उपसमिति की रिपोर्ट का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है। कृपया सार्वभौमिक सभा की लियें।

—बीरसहाय बह्दा

प्रधान, महाराष्ट्र आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा  
बाबानगर, नांदेड (महाराष्ट्र)

## महर्षि की मूर्ति बग़ावत!

आपने अभी आर्यसमाज के अथर्व के बारे में कुछ प्रस्ताव पास किए। इससे पहले भी प्रस्ताव पास हुए हैं। कोई परिणाम नहीं निकला। यहाँ मैंने एक महर्षि की मूर्ति बग़ावत है तथा एक कीर्ति स्तम्भ की स्थापित किया है। इस पर लिखा है—

1. आर्यसमाज एक महान् राष्ट्र है।
2. आर्य जाति एक महान् जाति है।
3. वेद एक महान् पुस्तक है।

मेरा आशय मुझसे है कि अजमेर में आर्य की एक ऐसी ही मूर्ति क कीर्ति स्तम्भ लगवायें।

—के. ली. शर्मा

93, सिवाजी मार्ग, देहगढ़पुर (उ० प्र०)

## आवश्यकता

- आर्य समाज शिक्षा सभा, अजमेर द्वारा संचालित तथा विद्यालयों में
- (1) दयानन्द कालेज अजमेर द्वारा आस्थाता एवं के लिए निर्धारित योग्यताएँ कम से कम उच्च द्वितीय श्रेणी के स्नातकोत्तर, स्नातक तथा एम फिल की एक की कीरीयता (1) पुष्ट चिकित्सा (2) नवित (3) भूगोल (4) हिन्दी (5) अंग्रेजी (6) अनुशासन।
  - (2) विद्यालयों हेतु—(1) आस्थाता (हिन्दी) एम ए की एक (2) पी टी आर द्वितीय श्रेणी का सी पी टी एड (3) नवित अध्ययन द्वितीय पेड—एम एस सी पी एड (4) अंग्रेजी अध्ययन द्वितीय पेड एम ए की एक (5) आस्थाता एम एस सी एम एड (6) आस्थाता एम कान एम एड (8) आस्थाता (संस्कृत) एम ए एम एड (8) नवित शिक्षा—स्नातक हिन्दी एम अंग्रेजी टकल का आनकर (9) कनिष्ठ शिक्षा—आर्य संस्कृत अंग्रेजी / हिन्दी टकल के साथ (10) तृतीय श्रेणी अध्ययन की पी एड क आर्य संस्कृत अंग्रेजी एस टी सी (11) तृतीय श्रेणी कर्मचारी आर्य 20 से 30 वर्ष योग्यता कम से कम पाचवी कक्षा तक। आर्यसमाज अंग्रेजी समाज शिक्षा सभा, अजमेर की निर्धारित आवेदन पर (पत्र अपने के पोस्टल आर्डर पर) इस विषय की अवधि में करें।

## सहयोगी शिक्षा

दयानन्द वैदिक बोधपीठ, दयानन्द कालेज, अजमेर में अथर्व के पत्र व्यवहार पर कोय कार्य चल रहा है। यदि किसी सज्जन के पास अथर्व के पत्र व्यवहार का सम्बन्धित कोई सामग्री हो, या कृपया सहायक दयानन्द वैदिक बोधपीठ, दयानन्द कालेज अजमेर की भेजने का कष्ट करें।

—सासासिंह





## जातिवाद विरोधी चौ० चरणसिंह

— आचार्य बसन्तेश्वर (बाबले) धर्म —

चौधरी चरणसिंह के निम्न वर देश के प्रमुख अर्थी तथा हिन्दी समाचार पत्रों में अपने-अपने एडिटो-कोल से कई प्रकार की प्रतिक्रियाएँ व्यक्त की हैं। अनेक प्रमुख नेताओं ने भी उनकी व्यङ्ग्यपूर्ण धारणा को पढ़ा। अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं। चौधरी साहब जैसे राजनैतिक क्षेत्र के एक वरिष्ठ नेता के सम्बन्ध में ऐसी प्रतिक्रियाएँ स्वाभाविक हैं। उनकी राजनैतिक विचारधारा तथा समस्त राजनीति के सम्बन्ध में इस-जिसे मैं यहाँ कोई विवेचन नहीं करना चाहता। किन्तु इस सत्य प्रत्यक्षता को जिस स्तर पर प्राप्त एक एक मूल्य प्रतीय होते हैं, यह यह है कि चौधरी साहब एक ईमानदार, निष्ठावान तथा स्पष्टवादी राजनेता हैं। जैसा 'टाइम्स आफ इंडिया' बाबि कुछ पन्नों में लिखा है कि उनकी इन विशेषताओं का योग धर्म समाज को है।

चौधरी साहब इन दोनों से मिले चुने प्रमुख राष्ट्रीय नेताओं के ले एक से जिन्होंने कभी से स्वीकार करने से सको नहीं किया कि उनका आन्तरिक जीवन व चरित्र निर्माल धर्म समाज और अध्वि दयानन्द की ही देन है। समाचार पत्रों ने उनके निवास स्थापन के उस कनरे का चित्र प्रकाशित हुआ है जिससे उनका पछाण गरीब जनता के दर्शनार्थ राख गया था। उस कमरे में दो चित्र साथ-साथ रखे हुए दिखाई देते हैं प्रथम अध्वि दयानन्द का तथा दूसरा महाराष्ट्र गांधी का। इन दोनों की बीच ब्रिटिश विभाजनों के श्री चरणसिंह एक प्रतीक थे। देश के आर्थिक निम्न और विशेषकर शास्त्रीय किसानों की उन्नति के सबसे हैं उनका एडिटोकोल स्पष्टतया गांधीवादी था। उनका सारा जीवन तथा रहन सहन की एक गांधीवादी नेता का स्मरण दिलाता था किन्तु कृषि दयानन्द की उन्ने भारतीय प्रगल्भता के मार्गदर्शक रहे हैं। यह मूल्य भी निर्विवाद है। उनसे निर्भा-वना, निष्ठावानता ईश्वरपूजा सदा तथा अन्तर्गत जातिगत जैसे सामा-जिक कृतिनीयों का निर्विवाद सदा प्रमाण है। अपने इस सशक्त लेख में, मैं उनके केवल कुछ उदाहरण देकर उनके शक्ति अर्थात् व्यङ्ग्यपूर्ण ब्रिटिश करना चाहता हूँ।

जाति ब्रह्मन्त किसान जातिवाद के विरोधी चौधरी चरणसिंह जो के

सबसे हैं उनके समाजीक व्यवहार के कहे हैं कि उन्होंने राजनीति में जातिवाद और विशेषकर जाटवाद की प्रोत्साहन दिया किन्तु उनके जीवन, व्यवहार व विचार इन तीनों से इस आशय का व्यक्त होता है। उन्होंने अपनी कथाओं का विवाह व्यवस्था जातिगत तोड़कर, गैर जाटों में किया। मुझे स्मरण नहीं है कि वे कभी किसी जाट सत्ता या मण्डल से सम्बन्ध रखे हो और न ही किसी जाट सम्मेलन या सभा की उन्होंने अध्यक्षता या संयोजता स्वीकार की।

वे सही हैं कि देश में किसान वर्ग और विशेषकर उत्तर भारत में किसानों के एक बड़ी संख्या जाटों की है, किन्तु उनके वे थे की सही है कि चरणसिंह उनके समर्थक या नेता हसलिते नहीं थे कि वे जाट थे बल्कि इसलिये वे कि वे किसान थे। यही कारण है कि उनके समर्थकों वे जाटों के धार्मिक गुरु, यही धर्म धर्म सिद्धी जाति के किसानों की बहुत बड़ी संख्या थी। अनेक उच्च जाति के लोग भी जिन्हें गांधी की धार्मिक अर्थ व्यवस्था और नते उद्योगों के स्थान में कुटोरा उद्योगों के महत्त्व में विश्वास था, चौधरी साहब को अपना नेता स्वीकार करने थे। लोकल कृषि निव दसा का नेतृत्व उन्होंने किया उनमें प्रायः सब जातिगत थे, यहाँ तक कि मुसलमान भी सदस्य व अधिकारी रहे हैं।

जाट राजपूत विवाह राजस्थान में जाटों के साथ राजपूतों द्वारा पुनर्व्यवहार किये जाने के अनेक उदा-हरण मिले जाते हैं उन्हें अपेक्षाकृत छोटे-छोटे या समकक्ष राजपूत राजा और ठिकानदार सामाजिक इष्टि से उनके साथ नमन भूखी जाट के व्यवहार करते थे। अपने विवाह में जाट को भोजे पर नहीं बीटा सबसे के और न ही वह को सोने के जेवर पहना सकते थे यहाँ तक कि वे धान्य हो के देवी की का प्रयोग नहीं कर सकते थे उन्हें तब न ही

उपयोग करने की छूट थी। जैसा चौधरी साहब ने एक बार कहा था, "अन्धविश्वास की धर्मियों के इसी प्रकार के पुनर्व्यवहार का परिणाम था कि पञ्जाब में लगभग 51 प्रति-शत जाट या तो मुसलमान हो गये या फिर सिक्ख बन गये। वास्तुतः मुच ने अध्वि दयानन्द की एकमात्र ऐसे महापुरुष के जिन्होंने देश और भाषा के आधार पर जाटों की क्षत्रिय चर्चित किया। ज्ञाता ही नहीं धर्म समाज के अनेक प्रसिद्ध सम्प्रदायी, सिद्धांत, ब्रह्मि आदि जन्म के जाट हैं। धर्म की यदि किसी वर्ग विशेष के अधिकार अधिक जायँ समाज के अनुसार हैं तो वे जाट ही हैं। चौधरी चरणसिंह की दमिदर अन्य तक अपने आप को धर्म समाजी व अध्वि दयानन्द का अनुयायी चर्चित करने में नीच अनुभव करते थे।

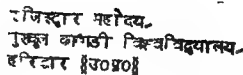
अन्धविश्वासी विवाह एक मात्र उपाय मेरी सम्मति में उनकी सबसे बड़ी देन उनका जातिवाद के विरुद्ध यह कार्रवाई अधिमान था, जिसे स्व प नेतृक जैसे राष्ट्रीय नेता भी स्वीकार करने में किलकहे थे। चौधरी साहब ने प नेतृक से सन् 1945 में दो वर्ष मान की थी कि वे कम से कम सरकार की अधिकारियों तथा कर्म-चारियों के लिए अन्धविश्वासी विवाह बर्तियाय कर दें किन्तु नेतृक ने वे उनके सुझाव को यह ज्ञात कर अपना कर दिया कि विवाह एक ब्रिटिश मानस है उसके राज्य का कानून को हस्तक्षेप नहीं करना चाहिए। नेतृक की यह कही सही सही सही सही से सही थी, किन्तु भारत की परि-स्थितियों में उनका एक सामाजिक व राष्ट्रीय महत्त्व की है। अन्तर्गत जातिगत न केवल हमारे सामाजिक जिनसे राष्ट्रीय जीवन का की एक बड़ा अधिभाग रहा है, कुछ अपवादों को छोड़कर कोई भारतीय बीटा विशेषकर हिन्दू अपना विवाह केवल अन्तर्गत मुसलमान दोषों के आधार पर ही धर्म की करता हो। प्रायः सब जाति व वर्गों के बीच विवाह सबसे

बननी चाहिए व वर्गों की सीमा के अन्तर ही करते हैं यहाँ तक कि धर्म समाज की स्थापना के पूर्व व बाद वे हिन्दू कोष विन के बाह्य होने के पहले अपनी जाति से ही विवाह करना कानून की इष्टि से आवश्यक था। यदि कोई उच्च वर्ग का हिन्दू किसी अन्य जाति की कन्या से विवाह कर लेता था तो उसे कानून भी स्वीकार नहीं करता था। ऐसे विवाहों से उत्पन्न सन्तान अर्थात् समझी जाती थी उन्हें अपनी वैतृक सम्पत्ति में कोई अधिकार था जिसका नहीं मिल सकता। ऐसी स्थिति में चरणसिंह जी का सुझाव जातिवाद के उन्मूलन के लिये सर्वथा उपयुक्त और आवश्यक कार्य समझना चाहिए था। कानून द्वारा अपनी ही जाति में विवाह करने के लिये बाध्य किया जा सकता है तो अपनी ही जाति में विवाह न करने का कानून अनुचित क्यों समझा जाये? बहुत अन्तर्गत जातिगत के निरुत्तरता का सर्वमान परिणामित में यही एक कारण पड़ता है।

जातिवाद की प्रोत्साहन—यह बुद्धि की बात है कि स्वाधीनता के बाद मुसलमान जातिगत सम्पत्ति के कारण हमारे अनेक प्रमुख नेता एक जातिगत के इस राज्य विरोधी भ्रमवास्तु की प्रोत्साहन देने में सको नहीं करते। अर्थात् राज्य में जिन सामाजिक व सामाजिक गुणों को हम अपनी राजनैतिक मुक्ति के लिए आवश्यक समझते थे, जातिवाद का निराकरण उनमें सबसे अधिक महत्त्व का प्रश्न था। अध्वि दयानन्द ने सर्वप्रथम इसलिये एक मार्गदर्शक रूप में व्यवस्था की ही वैयक्तिक सिद्ध करते अन्तर्गत जातिगत के आधार को ही नष्ट करने का प्रयत्न किया। सुभाषचन्द्र बोस हरिजनो की समस्या की इसी सर्वव्यापी जाति व्यवस्था के बन्ध के विरुद्ध जन मान्य हैं। 3" के स्थान से हमें के आधार पर समा-जिक चर्चित भ्रमों का आशय बाबि उच्च वर्ग में सर्वथा आशयगत करते इस सत्ता का निरन्तरता की रकारण उपाय किया जाना चाहिए था किन्तु स्वाधीनता के बाद इन वर्गों की उचित सामाजिक के स्थान में अब प्रायः सब के लिये सब उनके लिए विरोधी, राजनैतिक व सामाजिक लाभ के प्रयोग देकर अपने लक्ष्य की दृष्टि से उन्हें देखा के लिये प्रयत्न बना दिया है। मान स्थिति यह है कि हरिजनो के लिये ऊँची जाति के लोग भूटे प्रभाव पन देकर बहुत बन रहे हैं।

(विषय पृष्ठ 6 पर)





डाक पं. सं. RJ/AJ-169

इस वर्ष में वह भी उत्प्रेक्षणीय है कि कुरान की कुछ आयतों के सम्बन्ध में प्रस्तुत एक याचिका पर जुलाई 1986 में दिखे गए निर्णय में दिल्ली के मेट्रोपोलिटन मजिस्ट्रेट की ने एक सौदा में कहा है कि पवित्र पुस्तक कुरान मबीय के प्रति आदर रखते हुए उन आयतों का सूचन

उपयुक्त निर्णय की दृष्टिगत रखते हुए यह सोचने पर बाध्य होना पड़ता है कि गांधी जी \* द्वारा मुस्लिमों के अन्य धर्मनिरपेक्षों के प्रति आक्रामक रुख के बारे में जो कहा गया है कहीं उसकी प्रेरणा स्रोत नहीं जायें तो नहीं है ?

कहाँ तो 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्' की

## दो वर्ष में ४३६ हज़ार

इन राज्यों में गुजरात, आन्ध्र प्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र, कर्नाटक, उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, व बिहार हैं। सर्वाधिक सखियों के आकराल राज

**कनौज का** इंसान लीरव १६४ मील  
मरे, 6335 गिरखार हुए, 164  
बापल तथा 236 12 लाक कपडे की  
हानि हुई। कनौटा के रामनगर  
नगरी में बँदूद, मध्यप्रदेश के  
विहीर, उत्तरप्रदेश के मेरठ, मुंबई  
(विन्ता पीलीभीत) व इलाहाबाद  
महापद्म के नासिक पत्थर, बनारस  
की ओर बिहार के नक्का में बा  
हुए।

जहाँ 1986 के दौरान 34 दिन  
हिंसा हुई। जनवरी, मार्च जुलाई,  
अक्टूबर व सितम्बर के महीनों में  
चलने वाली दह हिंसा का केन्द्र  
महुमथाबाद, बेरावल, नावियाद व

1985 में हनो का प्रमुख कैबिनेट  
रहा माधव प्रवेश। राज्य के रगरेडि  
जिसे का तपूर सुष्ठानकाही बीन  
हैवराबाद के माठ-माठ के क्षेत्र  
नी गिरपत में आए। — पाठक

विच्छेद है। अगर मुसलमानों के साथ त्याग न हुआ तो यज्ञाव प्रपन्न सीमाएँ तोड़ देना।

—भाजपा खा, विधायक उ प्र  
3 अगर भुसलमान विल्ली ज  
सकता है तो प्रयोध्या भी जा सकत  
है । —सैय्यद शहाबुद्दीन

4 मैं बल्लभ को मा नहीं मानता। बाबरी मस्जिद मुसलमानों को न ही नहीं तो जल्दी ही मुसलमान बाबरी मस्जिद में नमाज पढ़ेंगे।

—अध्यक्ष मुस्लिम मजलिस उ ब्र  
5 हम इस बेज की ग्याप

आसितुक्त नामों की निम्नो-  
 पोतीरी का चक्र का जलतन्त्रों  
 निपात का वस्तुतः सुमुख स्वीकार  
 करना यदि कठिन वा ही कम वे कम  
 प्रथम प्रकार का क नूनी वा सवैवाचन  
 प्राक्वचन ही किना ही वा सवैवाचन  
 का कि कौनों हकनरी कविकाना ही  
 प्रपने नाम के पावे पावे किना का  
 प्रपने नाम के पावे पावे किना का  
 रमर अभिष्टुं वा दवायाय प्रपने  
 कनेनरुं दधना जयनेन वस्तु दुलित  
 धीनान्त जैस नाम वदत न मुनेन  
 ही तो पावना को प्रोसहान्त निपात।  
 बाह ज ति सुक नाम के अधिका  
 स्थ जिनने ही निम्न ही उन्नी  
 जाति वे कवचित् च्यतिनो के म  
 मे यह जाना की प्रपना उत्प-  
 होना यथाभाविक कि वष्ट यधि  
 नाम उत्पन्न कम लम । दखी प्रप-  
 स्थ जाति क लोको मे उत्पे कि  
 ही वा मतत यह धामना क

[illegible]

वस्तुन मैन स्य श्रीमती इदिरा  
गांधी को भी उस प्रकार का सम्मान

[illegible]

भाषना से जोत-श्रांत वेद की लुप्तताएँ  
और कहीं पुरान की से लुप्तताएँ  
पावर्त ?

बरों का सुनार प्रमुख कारण  
 सरकार की तयारियाँ सर्व निर-  
 वेलात हैं। इस सबसे ही पुराना निर-  
 वेलात था। कि नौवीं की कपड़ों की  
 प्रभावशाली सर्व निरवेलात के लड़ी बरों  
 की नहीं समझ के बाबा या फिर अपने  
 निमित्त ली जाने वाली लड़ी बरों के  
 के उपरान्त ली उठे लड़ी लड़के  
 के निमित्त ली करने का प्रयास नहीं  
 किया। नवीं बरों के लड़के बरों को  
 सुनार प्रमुख बरों रहे। प्रायः बरों की  
 लड़की बाकी बरों के लड़के को बरों  
 उठे नभ करने को कहते हैं तो उनके  
 लड़के बरों लड़ी बाकी हैं।

हृष्ट हो जाता। तब ही वह व्यायाम करने के निष्पत्ति को मनवेष्टा कर अपने तुल्य स्पर्शों के लिए 'मुस्लिम विवेक' खान खाता तथा ऐसा करने का साहस कर सकता है ?

राष्ट्र धर्म से ऊपर है। इस सत्य को बिना विना भारतवर्ष का मुसलमान स्वीकार कर लेता एक क़ायम हुआ कि वास्तव इस्लाम धर्ममाले जैसी भावनी भावनाओं को सिताजलित हो देता, उन्हीं दिन से साम्प्रदायिक धर्म होने लगे हैं। भारत में परन्तु प्रत्येक यह कि क्या ऐसा कभी हो-  
 मुसलमान धर्मापराध  
 मान्य होना है और किन्तु प्रत्येक।

### बी. एड. में सीधा प्रवेश

राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय से मा-बता प्राप्त जियालास शिक्षक प्रशिक्षण संस्थान कागधेर में विवर-शिका में बोधित नियमीं श्रीर निर्धा-रित योग्यता के आधार पर बिना री बी एच टेस्ट के प्रवेश के लिए आवेदन पत्र 11 जून 87 से उपलब्ध किये जायेंगे।

—आचार्य  
विद्यालाल विद्याल प्रशिक्षण संस्थान,  
झरमपुर

हमे खेव है

स्वानामाज के कारण हम पूर्ण धोषित कुल्ल भेजों को इस जग मे स्थान नहीं दे पाए हैं। धाका है कि उक्त भेज धानामी जग मे आ सकेंगे।

—संपादक—

स्वाधिकार आर समाज अरमेर क लिए व प्रकाशक एव संपादक रासासिह हेतु रतनलाल गग द्वारा श्री आर्य प्रिन्टर्स, कानू मोहम्मदा केमरगज अरमेर मे मुद्रित एव आर समाज भवन अरमेर स प्रकाशित ।

वेद ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है ।

सत्य को ग्रहण करने और अमर के  
झोड़ने में सक्ता उद्यत रहना चाहिए  
—महर्षि दत्तात्रेय

वैयान-दाब्द 162

सष्टि सम्बत 1972949087

। ओ३म ।

# आर्थ पुनर्गठन

**आर्य समाज, अजमेर का हिन्दी पाक्षिक पत्र**

“प्रायः हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म ।

ओ३म हमारा देव है, सत्य हमारा कम ॥”

सकल जगत को आय बनाए

## हमारा उद्देश्य

## समाज की वर्तमान अवस्था

अविष्य मे पैदा होने वाली

समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत

रहस्ये वा गीयमानां वा

पुनर्गठन करना है ।

वर्ष 3 मंगलवार 30 जून 1987

अक ९ प म 43338 84 II

अभय मित्रादभयम् अमित्रादभयं ज्ञातादभयं परोक्षान् ।

अभय नक्तमभय दिवा न सर्वा आत्मा मम मित्र भवन्तु ॥

આષાઢ શુક્લ ૪ સવન ૨૦૪૪

वार्षिक मू 15 एक प्रति 60 पसे

**क्या संस्कृत मृत भाषा है ?** —क्षितिश वेदालंकार

॥ हे मी तुमचा मित्र मित्र लग्नकार देणो मी २१ वी लागी येत जातो के  
 निरुद्धा प्रकर मी कोही नाराज बांधीही हे तुमका बांधार नई  
 निशा मोठी को बंधाव नही हे निरुद्धा प्रकर ते शत्रु माणस होत हे निरुद्ध  
 म मी निरुद्ध को बंधावो हुनारी मारी मीही म मी कोही नाराज हणी  
 प्र मुनी नाति निरुद्धाकोही म मी प्र रुद्ध्या म ही को बंधाव हणी  
 खास गावो पीडी के नास साय म रे देणो को मायना वरवा । नाति  
 निरुद्धा मी ही रुद्धा प्र रुद्ध्या मी ही को रुद्धा मी रुद्धा म मी  
 प्र मी प्र मुन बांधाव ही हे रुद्धा प्र मी नाति निरुद्धा म नाति बांधाव  
 के जा निरुद्धा प्र मी का हे । रुद्धा को रुद्धा म म मी गावो मी ही रुद्धा  
 म मी बांधाव ही

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

भाषा है। बाबा हजीरियाजी ने सादरपादा या बकानाम इन्हें खोसोपास में  
 आध्यात्मिक के मुक्त मार्ग से कल्ल अली (मृत पादा) या सत्य सनात के ज  
 में सत्य उपवास या सनात है। मुते कान से कल्ल उपवास से सनात में  
 साते है। बाबा या पवित्र सादरपादा का सत्य नही है। सादर पादा प्र  
 मत्त में सत्य का हृष्ट है। 'मने विद्या' को सत्य नही है। मया का स  
 मुही सादा। जिस सादर कल साजि कल्ल सादर के लिए पोरी है। अ  
 मुही उपवास का सत्य नही है। सी ही से सत्य का विद्या भी है। इसका  
 मूल सादरपादा है। कि सादा का मुक्त सत्य प्रसाद हो सा है। इसी  
 है बाबा की विद्या को ही विद्या सादा सनात नग है। मने जे सत्य करी  
 विद्या के अर्थ सादरपादा से किल्ले की सत्य की स्थिति सनात नग है।

[illegible][illegible][illegible]











## साहित्य-समीक्षा

प्रस्तक का नाम : आसु डूबी मुस्कानें (कविता संग्रह)

रक्षयिता : लासलसिंह जबोरिया 'सोमित्र'

**प्रकाशक : रश्मितीला स्वयं**

आकार : 20X30X16 पृष्ठ 88

**मूल्य - बस रुपया**

सम्पर्क सूत्र : लौमित्र, जोषपुरा, मैनपुरी [उ. प्र.]

‘सोमिच’ के नाम व उनके काव्य से संपूर्ण आश्चर्यजनक समीक्षा-प्रति-  
परिचित है। आप साधु कवि हैं। आपकी कविताएँ अत्यन्त भावपूर्ण एवं  
आभिक होती हैं। कविवर प्रह्लादाकार ने आपसे विषय में सत्य ही कहा है—

जाखन मे कबि एक है, ताखनसिंह सीमित ।

जामी कविता महकती, उधों कनीजा हय ।।

जानू पूरा मुस्कानों सीमित थी के मुक्तकों व कविताओं का सच

आधुनिक प्रगति के लोभसेपन पर कवि ने भरपूर प्रहार किया है—

प्रभृति का हिलसिला सहे कितना घामे बसा है ।

भूमि, नल समर सली को जीतने का हुसला है ॥

फासले स सार के नजदीकियो से हटस डाले ।

वध न होता। आदमी से आदमी का फासना है ।।

कजिवर का हृदय जन साधारण द्वारा की गई उपेक्षा से क्षुब्ध है।

उसे दख है कि ज्ञान उसके परिश्रम का कोई मूल्य नहीं समझते ।

कवि का ददं देखिए—

सर्वव्यापितः पीडाभो को कितने अल्प पदा लहराने ।

तब सभा के नीलकण्ठ से फट रहा मद जरा तरावा ।।

कक्षा कक्षा पीछा का स्वर है अपना राव सुनाये कैसे ।

इतना सरस नहीं होता है बिच के छूट कण्ठ से गाना ।।

प्राप्त है कि जन-साधारण कवि के महत्त्व की समझना, उसके व्यक्तित्व के कार्य की समझना और उसे अत्यन्त प्रेम करना हर व्यक्ति अपनायेगा।

—बीरेन्द्र भार्य

—बीरेन्द्र शर्मा

अर्थ सभाज, अजमेर द्वारा प्रकाशित साहित्य

प्रो. बस्ताशेय आर्य द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकें

1. डेन धर्म और हिन्दू समाज को साथ नमाना हो येन जुल्म 0 50 पैसे
2. हमारी राष्ट्रीयता का आधार—मूल्य रु 1 00
3. आधार संहिता—मूल्य 0 50 पैसे
4. दो धर्म समाज हिन्दू विद्वान्द हिन्दुधर्म (अर्थ और)—विशेष रियासती दर रु 75 00
5. धर्म समाज हिन्दू धर्म का सम्बन्ध नसी मूल्य—50 रु

**अभ्य प्रकाशन**

आर्थ समाज (हिन्दी) मूल्य लाजिस्टर 20 00 रु अजिस्टर 16 00

•३ छात्रा सचिवराय

- 2 जयं लिखा (माय 1 से 11 तक) -पदे रंज कुम मूक्य. 32 00  
3 बयानम कया अ ग्रह मूक्य व 3 00  
4 परिचय निर्लिखा (सप्तल देव-विदेव की जायं लिखय स र्वाभी का  
परिचय) मूल्य व 12 00

**सत्यार्थ- प्रकाश ग्रन्थ माला-15 भाग**

(प्रत्येक सम्पुल्लास पर स्वतः प्र टंकित)

- |                      |                                |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 ईश्वर एक नाथ ध्येक | 9 स्वर्ग और नरक कहा है ?       |
| 2 भाव न मान्य शिवा   | 10 बोके चूल्हे से कर्म नहीं है |
| 3 शिवा और परिय विनाय | 11 हिन्दु धर्म की विशेषता      |
| 4 मुद्रुषाकथ ना मरुष | 12 बीजा और धर्म मत             |
| 5 स नवीन कीन और      | 13 वेद और ईसाई मत              |
| 6 राज व्यसना         | 14 भाग्य और वैदिक धर्म         |
| 7 ईश्वर और वेद       | 15 उद्योग नाथ तथा प्रकाश       |
| 8 जलत की उत्पत्ति    |                                |

विशेष

—सभी ट्रैन्ड लाइव अगलू के पोटी के बिधाना के द्वारा लिखित हैं एव इन्वलासा का सम्पादन लाइव समाज प्रजेनर के प्रधान श्री वल्लाभेयी बाबू ने किया है इन्वलासा के पूरे सॉट का मूल्य रु/- रुपये है।

**श्रीगरुडल चित्तौडगढ़ मे प्रवेश आरम्भ**

संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय मारवाडी के मार्ग पर दक्षिण दिशे आवागमन प्र प्रथम व्याकरण स वेद निम्नलिखित क्रिया से मध्यमा मारवाडी म जाव न कला तक की पहाड़ प गीला का मयाव न है विगत नवी के महा का परासा परशास्य क्षति हो उत्पन्न रह रहा है पहाड़ । जुलाई से आरम्भ हाती है प्रवेश स व क्षी जन्य जानकारी क लिए मुक्ताखिन्ताता को प्रमुख विपरीतव्यव रास्तेमा 312001 इस पत से पक्ष व्यवहार म सम्पन्न करें ।

**लक्ष्मीबाई पचनास्कर विद्यालय**

**महान निवास जयपुर रोड, अजमेर**

[मान्यता प्राप्त]

**प्रवेश प्रारम्भ है**

नर्सरी से पाँचवीं कक्षा तक हिन्दी-अंग्रेजी माध्यम  
समय प्रातः 8 से 12 बजे तक

स्वास्थ्यविचार आयु सम अजमेर क लिफ्त ब प्रकाशक एवं सम्पादक राधासिंह **१११** रतनकाश वर्मा द्वारा श्री आर्य प्रिन्टर्स, बान्नी, मोहल्ला केकरनीय, अजमेर से मुद्रित एवं आयु समाज प्रबन्ध, अजमेर से प्रकाशित ।





## कब तक खून बहता रहेगा.....

विनांक 6 एच 7 जुलाई 87 ई की राविना नरनेव के कासे इति-  
हास में वो वनो और बाव बई। बीसवीं बटे मे हरिनामा रोक्केन की  
लीन बनों को पचाव के लागत तथा हरिनामा के फेहावाव के वाव  
वातकवाधियो द्वारा रोक्कर विनांक 74 वत वाधियों को स्तेनपनो की  
प्र वाधुन रोकिनी के भून दिया गया। रक्तरहित इतिहास का वना  
भुन भुन के बन गया। बाव रोक्क लाने रहु गया, मुक्क बच किन्ने मे।  
सिक्क समुदाय के भक्तिगो को बना दिया गया। उसकी प्रतिक्रिया वेत  
के लाने भावो मे भी होना स्वाभाविक है। कही कपूरुं लगे, कही बान  
बाबोहित हुए, कहीं भलगाए हुए और कही कोक प्रस्तावी की बीपवा-  
रिफाए हुई।

सवाल उठता है कि बाधिर कब तक इन विषयगत के बैकग्रीड,  
पैवाधिवृत्ति बासे हुनारे वातकवाधियो के हावो हुनारे होगी रहेगी ?  
देव का बल्लन तुला रहेगा ? नेकरो को नोबिबो से उलाना जाता  
रहेगा। बहुत ही मुक। हर बार लवन भुपना कबन उठाने की बात  
रहु की जाती है और तुरन्त तु बच पटनाए फिर बहिन हो जाती है।  
यह बातको के लिये लनाधारियो के लिये, वरकर के लिये और लज्जा  
का बात है। लुपका एव गुलबन लवन्का लवना निम्ननी लकि हुई  
है। पचाव का किन्नु वातकि है। हुनारी की लवना मे लोव वर बार  
लाकर दिक्को, हरिनामा लाना कबन रागो मे लने लगे है। पचाव मे  
की रोव लो, बार ल लान और कनी लवना की वातकवाधियो के  
हावो बाते लते है। लने लाना हर लकि बाहे लह सिक्क है वा किन्नु  
लह लारोव है। लण्ड का नैकि लामिन् है कि वर लनेक लारिक के  
लानलान की लता लरे।

वरकर को प्रविषन् निम्न कदम उठाने चाहिये—

- 1 कायमीर के कन्ध नक की लोवा वर भुरखा पट्टी बनाई जाव।
- 2 लोको की लान लान की लता कलने तथा लने प्रारम्भिकवाव पैवा  
लने हेतु बिबेय लको की लोवा क लवने किना जाव।
- 3 राधिकाशीन लत लोवाको ल प्रविषन् रूप के भुरखा लैकि लो।
- 4 पचाव भुतिन के लोवालय लको की लटनी की लान। पचाव  
लिस मे लानलवको ललुतिन प्रविषिनिह दिया जाव।
- 5 लुपकर लवन्का लुपकर की लान।
- 6 वातकवाधियो का कलोला के लवन किना जाव।
- 7 वातकवाधियो की वरपक और लहलान के लिए प्रविषाधिक लन  
ललुपेय प्रान्थ किना जाव।
- 8 बीरि ललुपेय का लोव लान लिललई जाव। जैसे हरिनामा  
वरकर मे ललरवा विचार है।

**सिक्कको लल लल लल**—पचाव मे वातकवाधियो का  
लुपकना करने तथा लने किन्नु लारोको की लता करने हेतु सिक्को को  
नी लकि होकर लाने लाना लोवा। लको से ललिन वर मे लट लाने।

## पूर्व आचार्य दत्तात्रेय दासले—कीर्तिकोमुदी

— आचार्य का विष्णुलानन्ध निम्न —

महाराष्ट्रप्रदेव, विप्रवने सुविमिने।  
वतावेयाभिषोधीवान्, वात व्यातस्परिचवाद् ११।  
लपकालेन वो विषा, जवाह तु कुवाधयो।  
सर्वानघोस्व सिद्धात्पान्, धर्मसम्बन्धिनो मुहु १२।  
सबकस्यासकृद वेद राधान्ताना प्रथेकम्।  
दशामन्दधि धर्मयो जापथ पायनमल १३।  
समज्यं निक्षिप्ता सिन्धानुत्तरास्वप्रदेवके।  
राजस्यान प्रजावर्त्य, किन्वास्त्रेयमवाप्नुस्योत् १४।  
दशानन्द यवो बृद्धै तल्लिङ्गात्प्रचारने।  
पूर्वै स्थापितो विद्यालयोऽन प्रवर्धितः १५।  
आश्विनार्यस्य वा भूमिर्भुवास्व निरलसम्।  
आश्विनार्यने प्राप्ताम् होतु प्रयति भूभम् १६।

महर्षे जीवात्प्राप्तान्, लोवासवृत्तिसम्।  
वम सा पामनी भूमिर्भवेरलस्य विषते १७।  
दशान्-दाभिषेधेन, लव मे स्वातन्त्र्यम्।  
प्रादन्मयन विद्याये महाविषयमस्तारम् १८।  
योऽ सिन्धविद्या श्रेष्ठ, व्रत्तो धर्मविद्या भूभम्।  
प्राचार्ये वद समुपपद्यते १९।  
वतावेयाभिषेधार्थं, लार्थे गोरवर्धनं।  
विश्वविद्यालये काङ्गुल्लक्ष्मा ससम्मान पुस्तक १००।  
विषय - विषयवन्धान् लो निबन्धान् ल्यलेखीन्,  
बहुपरिग्रसकृद्वा प्र-लराविम् प्रलिये।  
विनरति नितरा लयिन्तनीय प्रबन्धान्,  
ल लयति लुवि ललान ल लार्थे लुवि १११।

सामाजिके लौलुकि लुलारे, धर्मप्रचारे ल स्वतन्त्रताया।  
लान्दोलने क्रातिकला वरिष्ठो, लस प्रविष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठ १२१।  
लुललतीम् ल लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति, ल लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति १२२।  
प्राप्ताम् वरिष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति १२३।  
लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति १२४।  
विद्वन्मो विद्वन्मो लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति १२५।

पता — लानन्ध मन्दिर्, लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति, लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति (ल प्र)

किन्नु ललको की लारि लरनी लान लोकिन मे लार्थे। लिल ललर  
ललान के ललर लुर्नैरिष्ठोऽस्ति मे लरनी लान लोकिन मे ललर ललर लने लिल  
लार्थो की लता की है।

लिल ललको को लने लिल के वातकवाधियो की लिल  
लरनी लोकी। वातकवाधियो के लिल लललल, ललल, लललल लल  
ललललल लल ललने मे लोले ललल लल। ललललल ललने लर  
ललललललो ललर लललललो के लता ललल ल।

लिल लिल लल २ है। लार्थे की लार्थे मे लोर् लुवा लली लल  
ललल। लर लर् लो की लोवा लोकी है।

—लललललल









**फोन कार्या : 21010**





## स्वराज्य को सुराज्य बनायें

15 अगस्त 1947 ई. को देश जयंती की पराधीनता से स्वतन्त्र हुआ। इस स्वाधीनता के लिए अनेक कुर्बानियाँ देनी पड़ी। अग्रजों की साहसिक-मोलिया खानी पड़ी, काले पानी की सज्जये युगतनी पड़ी, कई क्रांति बोर फावो पर लटक गये, लाखों लोग जेलों में गये और यातनाएं सही। आखिर जलियान रंग लाया। देश स्वाधीन हुआ। कहा भी है, सर्वशाल्वन सुख, सर्वपरवस सुख। अर्थात् सब प्रकार से अपने अधीन रहना ही सुख है, तथा सब प्रकार दूसरों के अधीन रहना ही दुःख है। गोलामों तुलसीदास की कह गये 'पराधीन सपनेह सुख नाहि' अर्थात् गुलामी में स्वल्प में भी सुख प्राप्त नहीं होता। स्वराज्य तो हो गया पर अब इसे सुराज्य बनाना है।

सुराज्य से तात्पर्य है जहाँ सब प्रकार की व्यवस्थाएँ सम्यक् और समुचित हों। किसी का धोखेपन न हो कोई भ्रष्टा, नग्न न रहे। सबको रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान उपलब्ध हो सके। देश सर्वोन्मुखी विकास करते हुए उन्नति पथ पर अग्रसर हो जहाँ कोई बेरोजगार न हो, हर हाथ को काम हो। कल कारखाने, उद्योगधन्दे, यातायात, सदैववाहन, शिक्षा, चिकित्सा, कृषि, व्यापार सब प्रोन्नत हो। सबसे बढ़कर समस्त देशवासी ईमानदार, कर्तव्यपरायण कर्मज, धार्मिक, प्रास्तिक नैतिक एवं मानवीय मूल्यों के प्रति आस्थावान, चरित्रवान, देशभक्ति एवं परोपकारी हो। सर्वजन हिताय लक्ष्य हो। राष्ट्र शक्तिशाली बने, विश्व में प्रतिष्ठा हो। स्वतंत्रतावादी भाषावाद, सामाजिकता, प्राचीनता, जातिवाद, क्षेत्रीयवाद, कर्मभेद, जातिभेद, छुआछूत, गरीबी रिश्ततखोरी क्षीरादि सब बुराइयों से मुक्त हो। आतङ्कवाद, नक्सलवाद अथवा उग्रवाद गुण्डागर्दी, चोरी चढ़नी नशाखोरी आदि न हों। जहाँ के सत्ताधारी शासक अपने आपको जनसेवक समझे। जिनमें सत्ता का मन्द न हो।

जब समस्त भारतवासी कर्मज से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक गुजरात लेकर नमाले तक एकत्व की अनुभूति करें, सब 'समृद्धिद्वय म सबदश, वो मनामि जानताम्' 'समानो मन् समिति समानी' के आदर्शों को धारण करते हुए 'सर्वे भवतु सुखिन' का लक्ष्य अपने समुच्च रखें, जहाँ भारतीय संस्कृति, भारतीय परित्व, भारतीय भाषा, वैज्ञानिक, ज्ञान-पान आचार विचार हीम तभी हमें बहु सके कि प्रथम स्वराज्य के साथ साथ सुराज्य भी प्रा गया है।

हमारा आदर्श 'सामराज्य' है। रामराज्य की परिकल्पना ही सुराज्य है। 'दैहिक, दैविक, भौतिक तापा, रामराज्य काहू न व्यापा'। राजा अवस्थिति बड़े स्वाभिमान के नाथ यह गौरवपूर्ण घोषणा करते थे कि 'मेरे राज्य में कोई चीर सराबी, कदाचारी तथा भ्र-नही है।' ऐसा भारत के ही ऋषि दयानन्द का 'आर्यवर्ष', गांधीजी का रामराज्य तथा कालचक्र धीरे धीरे के रूपों का भारत होगा।

आधो हम सब मिलकर स्वाधीनता की चालीसवीं वर्षगांठ पर यह दृढ़ संकल्प ग्रहण कर कि हम स्वराज्य को सुराज्य बनायें। वद भी कहता है, येनेमहि स्वराज्ये अर्थात् हम सब मिलकर स्वराज्य को सुराज्य, मुद्रता और समृद्धि के लिए प्रयत्नशील हो।

भारत माता की जय हो।

- राधासिंह

## दुर्लभती कर्मवीर पं. जियालाल जी

अनेक वर्षों के बीच जीवन भर बिहारी जनसाधारण की निर्वार्थ सेवा का और धार्मिकता तथा उसकी संस्थाओं की तन-मन-जन की रसालता लननमें सीधा उस धर्ममेर के मुद्रिष्ठ कार्य नेता कर्मवीर पं. जियालाल जी को हमारा स्त-स्त मनन। प्रत्येक वर्ष श्रावणी पूर्व को उस कर्मवीर और धर्मनोर का जन्मदिन धार्मिकता धर्ममेर और उनके तत्त्वज्ञान में संचालित विशाल संस्थाओं में सगौराहुपूर्वक मनाया जाता है। धार्मिकता धर्ममेर तथा धार्मिकता शिक्षा सभा अजमेर में दयानन्द कलिज धर्ममेर जैसी विशाल महाविद्यालय के सम्हापक कर्मवीर पं. जियालाल जी के प्रति कृतज्ञता प्रकट करते हुए जियालाल शिक्षक प्रशिक्षण संस्थान (बी.एड. टीचर्स ट्रेनिंग कलिज), जियालाल कन्या संकण्डरी स्कूल, जियालाल कन्या प्राथमिक पाठशाला, जियालाल विभु निकेतन की स्थापना की तथा 1964 में 'सेवा और सर्वार्थ' के नाम से उनका जीवनवृत्त भी प्रकाशित किया जो एक प्रेरणादायी अलिखित है।

कर्मवीर पं. जियालाल जी महर्षि दयानन्द और धार्मिकता के प्रति अन्य निष्ठावान, आदर्श सेवाभाव के अनुभव उदाहरण तथा युन के पथके थे। प्रातःप्रार्थना एवं समाजकर्मों से सधर्ष करने में उन्हें जानन का अनुभव होता था। उनका मनव्य था -

जिन्मो जिम्माचिती का नाम है।

मुद्रं दिल बचा खाक जिया करते हैं।

अजमेर में लेगे के समय उनके द्वारा की गई अनुकरणीय सेवा, हैदराबाद के धर्मपुत्र सत्याग्रह तथा पञ्जाब हिन्दू रक्षा आंदोलन में सत्याग्रहियों की स्पेशल ट्रेनिंग भिजवाना, संस्थाओं का संचालन, भ्रमाय एवं निराश्रितों, अन्नना - विधवाओं, परिस्वक्ताओं को देखभाल, आर्यसमाज के शिक्षा नगर कोतन, महोत्सव, हिन्दू मन्दिरों की रक्षा निर्भीकता तथा अष्ट साहस, छुआछूत के निवारणाल विशाल प्रणिभोजों का आयोजन आदि सब उनके अखण्ड कस्यन्तिष्ठ होने के प्रमाण हैं।

मजनु ही के दम से इस दहर की जावादी एक उसके न होने से वीरान है वीराना।

- राधासिंह

(विषय पृष्ठ 8)

ही हिन्दु हो। यह परिभाषा बचि अपने बाप में बड़ी का चली है किन्तु वह न हिन्दु की परिभाषा है और न ही हिन्दू धर्म की। वह केवल सनातन धर्म अर्थात् धर्म, स्मृति, पुराणोक्त सम्प्रदाय की परिभाषा मात्र है। लोकमान्य तिलक की इस परिभाषा के सम्बन्ध में एसी कुलकर्णी द्वारा लिखी 'सिक्ताजी वेली 8 वर्ष' नामक मद्रासी पुस्तक के पृष्ठ 220 के अनुसार स्वयं तिलक कहते हैं कि 'वरी हल परिभाषा 8 उद्देश्य यह है कि उनमें हिन्दुधर्म की समस्त बातों, धर्मों और सम्प्रदायों का समन्वय किया जा सके तथा धर्म धर्मों की उचित पूर्णक, लक्ष्य का सके। दूसरे शब्दों में यह परिभाषा संसार के अनुसार न धर्मिक सही होनी चाहिये और न ही

धर्मिक अथवा।' इसका और ईसाई धर्म के हिन्दू धर्म की भिन्नता बताते हुए तिलक लिखते हैं कि 'हम धर्मों के विषये हम यह मानते हैं कि ईश्वर के समय-समय पर स्वतन्त्र रूप से हुए ही धर्म धर्म को होने बचि ईश्वर को हम एक मानते हैं किन्तु हम यह स्वीकार नहीं करते कि पुन्यी पर उसका एक ही तथा समान अथवा हुआ है। जिस प्रकार उपरान्त के अनेक तरीके हैं उसी प्रकार उपरान्त देखा भी सके हैं ऐसी हिन्दू धर्म की मान्यता है। धर्म धर्म के अनेक हिन्दुओं का कोई निश्चित देखा नहीं है। हम यह नहीं मानते कि केवल विष्णु या शिव ही उपरान्त से ही सुनिश्चित हो सकती हैं। हिन्दू धर्म में बौद्ध, वैष्णव, शैव, धर्म धर्म के अनेक हैं जो अपने-अपने देखाओं को बंध मानते हैं और उनकी अथवा के लिए ऐसी मान्यता बनायी है।' (विषय पृष्ठ 5 पर)





भूदृष्टि से लेकर नाम तक वेब  
 मानव जीवन के विभिन्न स्तरों पर प्रकाश  
 डाल रहा है वन कवि मानव कवय  
 के गीत की ओर जाने बसने के लिए  
 वेब ही उसने उलान का मान  
 प्रकट किया है। वह सकल सृष्टि-  
 पर बहस करके एक नए के रूप के प्रति-  
 मत होया है। क्या मनुष्य को कवय  
 केने से सचनों से न जाना पडता है।  
 पादुचित्त विमलवाचनो यं यं ध्यात्वाक  
 व बाह्यं हनु मनुष्य को निचोखं  
 कवये के निचे मानव प्रकृति देखे ही।  
 बहस करके मानव कीय नय साय  
 मोह तथा मलमल-वर्धरिपुषो की  
 बलवन्तो यैवापी सेना नय पर भाग  
 नय को देखे विभित करणा चाहती  
 है। क्या तूतरी नमननी व्याधिर्वा  
 मीतरी को जर्वात करे का उप-  
 नय कर रही है। कही अन्वभूति  
 है तो कही प्रतिपत्ति। अंसे कोही  
 मदी परापो की प्रपञ्च सिसाओ की  
 भिदीयं सवरी हीयं बपने लक्ष्मी की  
 कही बवरी जाही है तूरी पाति  
 मनुष्य को की सर्वविषय बाधापो की  
 ध्वस्त करते हुये जत बाह्य  
 मानुषो की पारित करते हुये बीहय  
 के उपरु पारित की ओर बहना  
 चाहिये। मनुष्य की कही सी-  
 दान वासे सचनों से मल होकर  
 अन्व-व्याप्य नही होना चाहिये।

वेध जनपाप का धारि सही कि  
 मनुष्य तू कमरुधनु है घट कभी  
 भी निराश मत हो, निरन्तर ध्याये  
 बदनाम जा आशा का दीप जलाये  
 बस, हरेका धार राख "महि त्वा  
 कश्मल प्रति" हल धूलकल से कोही  
 ऐसा मही तो तेरी धाराधी कर के।  
 जता: तेरा प्रबल हो कि भ्रमणक्ष से  
 ध्याये का आधिपत्य हो। कभी भी  
 राक्षसों के जलाधार को सहन न  
 कर "उग्रदूह सह समुत्पत्तिम्" है  
 को ? तू राक्षसों को कष्ट से उजाड़  
 फेंक।

कर्मवाद वेद का विजुट सिद्धांत है अकर्म्मण्य वा भाम्यावादी ध्यस्तिकी वेद मानव कोटि में ही नहीं मात्ता कर्म्महीन भवित वाय एव भाग्यवाद न ही भारत के उत्कर्ण को रमातव तक पहुँचावा है अत भाज भाषक-कता है वेद के इस अन्वेष्ट की-  
“नहि मे वसिष्ठवचना स्मृता इव

# शान्ति स्थापना हेतु युद्ध आवश्यक

— ਭੀ ਦੇਵ ਬਰਮਾ ਕੇਵਾਲਕਾਰ —

पञ्चकण्ठ्य कुर्वितु सोमस्यापाविति”  
अर्पित धरती भर के सब मनुष्य मेरे  
अभिप्राय तक को भी नहीं रोक  
सकते क्योंकि मैंने सोमरस-बीररस  
या परमात्मा के ज्विनरस का यथेच्छ  
पान कर लिया है।

भारत देश में धर्मके छह सम्प्रदायों में ब्रह्मिण और क्षत्रिया पर बहुत बराबरी है वरन्तु उन्होंने ब्रह्मिण के विरुद्ध बराबर तस्पर की प्रवृत्ति दिखायी, जैसे ब्रूहस्पत उरुवेर सवधा धिन्तन जितने शासना के त्पान पर कर्महीन निर्विषय ब्रह्मिण का ब्रह्मिण के त्पान पर कायदरता फेसा दी। शास्त्र के विरुद्ध ने भी दो बहो भावनायें प्रवृत्त की हैं "ब्रमा सोमस्येति उच भूयस की, जिन्के पाप वरुणकी" ब्रह्मिण कायरो का नही भूयानो ब्रह्म होता है। ब्रह्मिण को तो उरु-बोह करता है। "कृत ने दक्षिणे हस्ते ज्यो मे तस्य धाहित" मेरे दाहिने हाथ मे तो कर्म है और बायें हाथ मे विजय एव क्षीयन की संक-

ध्यान सहस्रार मे प्रात्येक व्यभिक्त  
 भुक्त हो प्रीतिप्रिय! ते सबकार भावित  
 का अस्तित्व पान करना चाहता है फिर  
 तो युक्तों को सच्चा उत्तरोत्तर बढता  
 दिखाई देतो है। इस नान्यते मे यही  
 कहा जा सकता है कि ये युक्त तब  
 तब समाप्य होनी फिरा जाता।  
 आन्तरिय युद्ध हो जा बाह्य इन  
 युक्तों का एक मात्र कारण है-आन्तरिक  
 युक्ति। इन आधुनिक युक्ति का रासनों  
 का सहारा नरते के जिन स्था युद्ध  
 काव्योक्त नहीं? सिमि दिन मुहम्मद  
 मे आधुनिक युक्ति पान हो जायेगी,  
 युद्ध समाप्य हो जायेगा और युद्ध  
 समाप्य हो जायेगा तो बार्निहो  
 जायेगी। धत इस दृष्टे इस रूप मे

भी बह सकतो हैं कि शांति का मूल  
मुझ है। इसी मुझ की निरन्तरता का  
उत्तर शांतिमय आस्था का यह क  
कठिनी दासि के चतुस मण एव  
अथर्ववेद के पञ्च काव्य के दुन्दुभि  
सूक्त के दृष्टि बोधर होता है। वेद  
का अन्वेष है "निर्गुण विष्णु नहि  
विबुधस्य हस्तजः। विष्णुमिन्द्र  
बृहन्नमित्ररात्रिमहानतः अर्थात् ह  
की पूरा राक्षस का सहार कर,  
हिसको को कुशल दे, वृष्टी की दाद  
लौक के धीर युद्धों जो दास बनाना  
काहे उम वीरी के श्रेष्ठ को धूर-धूर  
कर दे।

गीत सुन्य कहता है यदि मेरा  
 मन्त्र तुम्हो से आकारक बन-जिनके मे  
 नाना ध्वनियों को "मन्त्रविज्ञान" से  
 निर्माणमो योऽस्यान् इति कथं  
 को कथने अनुशा कतार है उसे  
 श्रवणविक को भी विधान : पूजा :  
 जैसे कि श्री हनुमान को आरपण  
 मे कपनी श्रवित कथित का बोध नहीं  
 का बाद मे नील जाकबन्त मे उन्-  
 कथित का मीनक कथना का मनी  
 श्रवित मन्त्रध को श्रवनी श्रवण श्रवित  
 को नहीं पहचान पाता उस समय वेद  
 ही मन्त्र को सोते से आकारक  
 कहता है नृपते से प्रदर श्रवनी श्रवित  
 खिरी है, उन्ने पू पहचान श्रवण का  
 बह : उस कथित को पहचान कर  
 बह मन्त्रवी कहता है "मन्त्रविज्ञान" से  
 मन्त्रविज्ञान इत्येषा म मन्त्रवेद वान्तये  
 श्रवणम्" इत्यन् इ इत्य इ मेरे  
 श्रवणक म सात् मन्त्र को नहीं टिक  
 सखी :

इस प्रकार सर्वेप में हम कह सकते हैं कि वेद में पदे तत्त्व ज्ञानों से मुक्तबला करने के लिये प्रेरणादायी भावनायें निहित हैं ज्ञान्ति व

पहिला सलका नाम नही कि बाद-  
 नाली घसलाना कर ओर हनु  
 नामयो की भाति हलन करे गहे ।  
 गुप्ता का दशन कला हो प्रहिया ।  
 भयनयु कृष्ण न यन्त्र से मु-यु-यु  
 कडो का सहाय किवा एह सन्तुष्ट  
 बुद्ध का युद्ध करावा सेकिन उन्न  
 युद्ध का प्रवर्तन होय माना वा सक्ता  
 उन्नये तो पावयो की सहायता से  
 इच्छी का सहाय का नमो भाति  
 स्वाभिसि की की बात सन्ने प्रार्थन  
 सतिवृत्त से । हनु ओर का की  
 गतिवृत्त पावना से स्वस्थ की समझे  
 हुन पाकिजान से थले आ । देहा-  
 युद्ध पावये से बचन वा प्रमल नही  
 करना सहाय प्रवृत्त प्रसुतो भाति  
 के निमित्त होय वा दाहान करना  
 पाकिजे और हुमाय पावना बचन  
 बीता का यह पावयो होय जाकि-

परिज्ञास्तथा साधुना विनाशाय

च दृक्कलामु

धर्मसंस्थानार्चाय सभवा मि

पूगे पूगे ॥

શ્રાવણીપર્વ ન જિયા--  
હાલ જયન્તી સમાર્પ

अक्टूबर 10 अश्विन (कात्त)  
आयसमाज के तत्वावधान में कल  
आयसमाज मंदिर में पं. जियालाल  
जयति एवं आवाधी उपासक एवं  
आयोजित किया गया। सभारोह की  
अध्यक्षता पूर्व नगर परिषद अध्यक्ष  
नाथसिंह तेंवर ने की।

इस अवसर पर प्रायस्माज के प्रधान वक्ताओं में श्री अ. कर्मवीर एवं जिलासेलजी के प्रेरणादायी जीवन पर प्रकाश डाला तथा श्री बुद्धिप्रकाश शर्मा, डा. कुण्डलावासिंह एवं श्री देव शर्मा आदि ने श्रावणी की महत्ता पर प्रकाश डाला।

विभिन्न विद्यालयों के बालक—  
 बालिकाओं तथा सर्वश्री रामचन्द्र  
 धाय धन तराव व स्वामी केवलान द  
 जी के भजन जादि हुए। धत मे  
 धार्यसमान के मनी रासासिह ने  
 धाधार ध्यक्त किया।

## पत्र बोलते हैं ...

### मजि क्यान्स और हिन्दुत्व

30 जुलाई के मास पुनरागम ने तो खरर के विचार उबठुन विषय पर पड़ा। सामा बनवा उनके तब सामी तत्त्वकाय जा के विचारो ने मोट होर पर कोई विवेक अंतर दिखाई नहीं पडा। किन्तु हुये हल्ला मरएल खल्ला होना कि हिन्दू काय से हुनारे धन और सांस्कृतिक बंधन का खनोपाय होना हुना या उसका मूल कारण भी स्वामी की ने भावना से हुनारे धना हिन्दुवादी पाषाणो, अतिविचारो तथा कटिनाय के धरने की बाये रखने के हो मारा है। यो हल तत्त्वकाय हिन्दू के स्वाधियान को बनाकर उसके पुनरागम सामी ने भीमनामिका का संचार करने का नैतिक प्रयास किया। मुक्त मोर्चाहिन्दू धर्मि महापुत्र ने किया कि हिन्दू हिन्दू के साथ हुनाम हुनाका, निराका हुनारा पराक्रम होउ तथा दास व मजदूर प्रजापति धनी अधिक जुब बह है कि उनके आधार पर हल म तो कोई प्रस्ताव हो विस्तृत करता है और न भारतीय समाज को ही पुन जगाना जा सकता है। अतः हल स्वामी "मजदूर" के स्वर ने स्वर भिन्न कर भावना को पुन प्रतिस्थापित करने का ही प्रयत्न करना होगा। यदि हुनारे हिन्दू व का समिक भी "या पकडा या सावरकर या" मोलन-लकरकाय और विषय हिन्दू परिवार का सच भाषणा हुनारे सचे पड जायगी। धना नो हल्ला हल।

—डा भवानीनाम भारतीय

### नानापुत्रों और कोखल न पकडे

समाज है या स्वामी तत्त्वकाय को ने स्वामी विवेकानंद को अन्तरी रहस्य न नहीं पडा है और किता एक लेख ने अन्तरी रहस्य सचे हुए है।

स्वामी विवेकानंद को हिन्दू होने ने महान सच था। व होने कदा का—भारत ही धारा का ध्यानिक

मुन है और ईश्वरत भारत के मुक्त मोक्ष के ही विचारो पर आधारित है।

ऐसे विचारो धारा महापुत्र फिरो धन धन का योग्य हो सकता है।

महापुत्रा को यदि हल सम्मान नहीं दे सकते तो उन पर कायल तो न करे।

—वेमप्रभा कपूरिया  
F 49, कोलिनगर  
बिल्डिंग-15

### सत्कार की आवाज कोठने

#### बाळा लख

आयुष्मन्त वन सच बाळा ने निखला है पर तु वहु नवीन अर्थोय डेन है की व नले साहब अर्थोयल नामनिका का लेख समाज के हात है साहबी व य विद्वानो को भी डा बाळा के मानी 30 7 87 के सच ने डा स्वामी या तत्त्वकायको का लेख भी स्वामी विवेकानन्दको के ने निम्न विचारो का जा चिन्तन किया है वह समाज की आवाज कोठने सचायवकाय है प्रयत्निक के

—सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता  
लखनऊ

### समाजो पद अलक्षित करणे की प्रवृत्ता

वेब की अनन्य समाज पर प्रमाणों व समाजिक तत्त्वो न अनधिकृत रूप के कल्ले किए हुए है। धाय समाज अन्तरे ऐसी भवानी को जानकारा प्राप्त करना चाहता है।

य सत्त्वको के निवेदन है कि उक्त सम जो की लुप्तता विचारल महिष्ट हुये भवने का कष्ट करें।

—मनी

### (विषय 400 अंका)

जिसे हा समाजिक हो का प्रमाण ने धनका हो कदा हो सकन विषय उनी मुनी के होना चाहिए। स्वभावतः समाज का बही मूल है। इसकी आधारभूत के विचारो से उत्तर कर मुनरी नवीन में रहना होगा।

स्वभावतः समाज के नीचे और उनी कोषा गोप्य भवि के सच सम्पत्त बन है। जहा उनीका अर्थोय उनी की वही कठिनाइयो पर न कले बहा उसकी मान्यता उनी हो कल हो जायेगी। स्वामी समाज व की के सिद्धांतो का मन्वन् इयो प्रकार के हो सफल है-1 कायमाना अर्थ वह पूरा करता है वह इन कठिनाइयो ने भेद नहीं कर सकता उन के लिए आयसमाज के नियम, स्वभावतः समाज के धाय सच भवि के य था पर आकाशान भवि के किन्तन मुनी लुप्तो गोपाये भवि के व्यास मानी को मुन मुन कर उनके ऊपर बनाई हुये मुक्त वल समन्य मयस की जाती है यह एक समाज है जिनका स "उ हुय विरेय समाज डेन।

इन प्रकार जोधमनाय के (1) ईश्वर जीव प्रकृति मय का वस्तु (2) वेद के सावजनो अर्थ (3) अर्थोयल प्रचार की नीति (3) अर्थोयल का सांस्कृतिक स्वभाव ने ऐसी वही है जिनको प्रत्येक आय समाजो को अपनी मुक्ति ने हल समन्य चाहिए। महिष्ट समाज व का पच प्रमाण हुन और सफलता पूरा करने की सक्ति प्रदान करता है।

### (विषय 400 अंका)

एक ए है। कला कील्ल विचारने के सच व न जगनी के विस्तरे वन भी जाये वे, उने भवि समाजम ने सामा मुनराजो के चेहे ने।

जो को हिन्दू उत्तर भक्ति कर मुने हि महिष्ट मरत स्वभाव के कारण अन्तः काय पर पुन विचारल कर लेते है। इसी कारण ने महिष्ट सामा मुनराज पर पुन विचारल करते है। सामा मुनराज की उत्तर ने अपने को महिष्ट समाजम का

मुनराजी और सच प्रकट करते है, परन्तु मोटर के वे व भि के अन्तः महिष्ट काय के बाळा उत्पन्न करते है। अने की कलाभक्ति मुनराज व सच की ने मुनराज करने के लिए मन्त्रि ने सामा मुनराज का धनक मार निभा किन्तु वल तक बहाने दन व व की नहीं किया। भक्ति एक महान ही महिष्टकाय काय था।

वस्तुतः को के मुनराज "बासु" के भवि समाज व कोर धायमान के बायो पर नियमानी रखने के लिए सच की सारवा की और के विमुक्त ने। सच व देवो सक्ति के प्रकट वक्ति और मुनराज कायो म नायक न समाज भक्ति मरदार वह कठिनाई की कि भारत व न जगना वाकर एकनीकी गज करें।

(विषय पड 2 का)

धाय समाज व अन्तः देवताओ के विचारो ने विस्वास है कि कोर ही पित्र 2 उपमाय है। इसीलिए जोधमान्य तिनक ने का उने हिन्दू समा की व्याख्या ने साधित नहीं किया है जहा सावरकर ने विचार है। 'इसने सन्देश नहीं कि धायमान्य को वेदो को प्रमाण मानता है किन्तु उसकी वेदो की व्याख्या अर्थ हिन्दू विद्वानो की व्याख्या के सचवा भिन्न है और निवे धाय समाज वेदो का सच मानता है यह हिन्दू सच के सचवा समन्य है। इस प्रकार वेदो के समाज ने वेदो के वृद्धिको भी ने हल्ला सता है कि एक प्रकार के यह कला वास्तवता है कि धायमान्य कट्टर या भौराधिक हिन्दू को के वेद का नहीं मानता इस प्रकार वेदो के बारे ने उनके विचारो ने केवल उन्नीक समाज है अन्तःकर्म नहीं।

—कमल

भी रतननाम गय से धाय प्रिन्स, अन्तः केरकर प्रकाशक प्रकाशक सासाहिद व भावसमाज भवन, केसरमज, अन्तः केरकर से प्रकाशित किया।

बेदोमिल्लोचनमूलम्  
यै ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है ।

सत्य को ग्रहण करने और अत्यन्त के  
छोड़ने में सर्वदा उत्तम रहना चाहिए  
—महर्षि दयानन्द

दयानन्दाब्द 162

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। श्री ३ म ।

# आर्थ पुनर्गन्धर्व

पाणिनिक पत्र

“धर्म्यं हमार्या नाम है, येव हमार्या धर्म ।  
श्री ३म् हमार्या देव है, सत्य हमार्या कर्म ॥”

कुम्भन्तोविश्वनायम्  
सकल जगत को धार्य बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :  
समाज की वर्तमान एवं  
भविष्य में पैदा होने वाली  
समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत  
रखते हुए धार्यसंस्था का  
पुनर्गठन करना है ।

भाद्रपद शु 6 सवत् 2044  
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सनातनियो द्वारा  
भी लिखेज

१ सनातन धर्म के धर्म्य प्रमुख  
धर्मियों के भी धार्य संस्था के  
कार्य के दृष्टि ही विचार है । वे उसे  
एक सर्वदा नवीन धर्म मानते हैं जो  
अधिकांश हिन्दू धर्म के विषय हैं ।  
पश्चित्त अन्धप्रसाद मित्र द्वारा  
द्वारा लिखित तथा अन्धप्रसाद प्रभ  
अन्धर्ष द्वारा 1905 में दयानन्द  
विश्वविद्यालय नामक एक पुस्तक  
प्रकाशित की गई है । जैसा पुस्तक  
के नाम से स्पष्ट है कि उसमें स्वामी  
दयानन्द द्वारा रचित सत्यानुराग  
का उल्लेख करते हुए लिखा है कि  
दयानन्द ने जो धर्मकार धर्मात्  
तिनिर धर्मशास्त्र उसे दूर करने के  
लिए यह पुस्तक लिखी गई है इस  
पुस्तक में यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न  
किया गया है कि स्वामी दयानन्द  
का यह कथन कि उ होमे किशा  
नवीन धर्म की स्थापना नहीं की  
अन्यथा है । स्वामी जी की इस  
धोषणा का उपहास करते हुए अन्धप्र-  
साद मित्र लिखते हैं कि—“कौनो  
विचित्र बात है कि एक नवीन धर्म  
की स्थापना करने के बाद भी इस बात

## हिन्दू बनाम हिन्दू धर्म

—आचार्य दयानन्द जी—

( गताक से धार्य )

का धार्यता पुनः प्रस्थापित किया गया ।  
इस प्रकार प्राचीन धर्माधी और  
मान्यताओं की पूरी तरह उखाड़  
फेंकने के लिए कोई कठोर उपाय  
नहीं रही । और इस उद्देश्य के  
लक्ष्य प्रकाश, अन्धप्रसाद पुनः  
धर्म्य धर्म प्रस्थापित करने । यह  
भी लिखित कर दिया गया कि ईश्वर  
प्राचीन की संस्था नहीं कर सकता ।  
उसके नाम का अप करने से कोई  
धर्म नहीं है । और, मुक्ति से प्राप्त  
निराकार धर्म है धर्म्य धर्म प्रस्थापित  
सिद्ध त प्रतिपादित कर दिये गये  
और इस पर ही दयानन्द का कहना  
है कि मैंने कौनो नवीन धर्म की  
स्थापना नहीं की ।

की स्वीकार हो सकते हैं । धर्म्य  
स्वयं के मूल्यों का स्वयं प्राप्ति  
करना ऐसी ही जैसे धर्म्य पुनः को स्वयं  
राजा घोषित करना । यह स्वयं विर-  
क्त है, इसका कोई नाम नहीं है ।  
यह स्वयं लोग की पुनराह करने के  
लिये प्रस्थापित गया है ।

पश्चित्त नवीनधर्म मानवीय वि-  
होने हिन्दू विषय विचारण की स्था-  
पना की और जो नवीन धर्म का एक  
प्रमुख नेता थे उनको सम्मिलित में भी  
वैयक्तिक दृष्टि से धर्म्यधर्म स्थापन  
हिन्दू की परिभाषा में नहीं जाता  
है । पश्चित्त उपादित हिन्दुओं द्वारा  
रचित “सनातन धर्मशास्त्र” नामक  
पुस्तक को मानवीय धर्म की स्वीकृति  
से प्रकाशित की गई, इससे भी हिन्दू  
धर्म की जो विस्तृत या मर्यादा की गई  
है वे स्पष्ट रूप से धर्म्यधर्म के  
सिद्धांतों के विपरीत है । इसका ही  
नहीं स्वयं मानवीय धर्म के धर्म्य  
धर्मिका में लिखा है कि सनातन धर्म  
के सिद्धांतों का यह स्पष्ट धर्म स्वयं  
सम्प्रदायों के लिये मान्य और स्वी-  
कार है जो सनातन धर्म की परिभाषा  
में है कि और इस प्रकार यह पुस्तक  
हमारे नवधर्म के लिये धर्मिक  
विश्वास और हिन्दू धर्म का प्रचार  
करने का कार्य में उपयोगी सिद्ध  
होगी । धर्म के लेखक ने स्पष्ट रूप  
धर्म्यधर्म और उसके सिद्धांतों का  
उल्लेख और उसके स्थापक धर्म्य

दयानन्द की कर्म धर्मों में लिखा का  
है । उन्हें “वेदविनाशक” तक कहा  
है और लिखा है कि स्वामीजी ने न  
केवल वेदों का ही विनाश किया  
अपितु धर्म के नाम पर धर्म के और  
कारों बोधे हैं । सर्वोद्धार नामक  
प्रकाश में स्वामी दयानन्द के मूल्यों  
और लक्ष्य प्रकाश की विस्तार से  
समालोचना की गई है । वेदविनाशक  
(पश्चित्त स्वामी दयानन्द) और उनके  
समालोचना (पश्चित्त लेखक पश्चित्त  
उपादित हिन्दुओं) के बीच एक कार-  
पत्रिक सारा के माध्यम से यह सिद्ध  
करने का प्रयत्न किया गया है कि  
स्वामी दयानन्द न मूल्यों का सिद्ध  
जो तक दिये हैं वे स्पष्ट तथा धर्म्य  
हिन्दू धर्मों के विषय हैं । एक  
स्वामी धर्म्य हिन्दुओं की विस्तार से कि  
ईश्वर की मुक्ति केवल धर्म्य या  
मिट्टी मात्र है और पश्चित्त नवीन धर्म  
केवल धर्म्य या धर्म है नवीन धर्म केवल  
धर्म्य धर्म्य कि यह सत्य है ।

लेखकी उत्पन्न कथाया-  
लक्ष्य का निर्माण—

वेदों की हार्दिक कोटि में धर्म्य समाज  
को पुनः धर्मिक समर्थन में मानकर  
जहाँ एक कारणीय और सर्वोत्तम  
धर्म की है (जिनके विषय उच्चधर्म  
मान्यता में धर्म्यधर्म की प्रकाश  
विचारधर्म है) जहाँ दूसरी ओर  
देहों की हार्दिक कोटि के मानवीयों को  
विषय होकर यह स्वीकार करना पड़ा  
कि धर्म्य हिन्दू धर्मिक दृष्टि से भी  
हिन्दू धर्म का अनुयायी ही यह धर्म्य  
धर्म नहीं है । उन्होंने हिन्दू के वा  
धर्म्य धर्म्य एक को केवल सामा-  
यिक और ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से हिन्दू  
है और दूसरे वे धर्म्य धर्म्य धर्म्य

(विषय पृष्ठ 4 पर)

निवेदक : दयानन्दधर्म्य

प्रकाश संपादक : रासाहि

संपादक : धीरेन्द्र कुमार धार्य

कोम कार्या : 21010







## पत्र बोलते हैं ...

### लोग सचाई से डरते हैं

स्वामी मन्मथकाजी क लख की दोहरी अतिथिमा पड़ी। महापुरुषों पर बोझ न कहे पड़कर ऐसा लख कि लोग लम्बाई से बड़ बग़राते हैं।

—जायें स्वयंविजय जमां बुद्ध की हाथ, गुरुगुरु

### आप क्यों परेशान होते हैं ?

2 अगस्त के धारमिज में धामी समाज हरद्वार बाजार बहाराइन के सदस्य का सचबन्धन मूल का सत्या-दक के नाम पत्र पड़ा। श्री मुन की इस बात का बड़ा दुःख है कि 27 जन का हरद्वार में प्रबन्धन चिन्हाहर में परिवार नामक फिल्म का ऐसा बर बर दिखाया गया था, जिसमें एक हिन्दू देवमन्दिर में मर्ति के समक्ष एक धर्मिज की प्राय नम्र दशा में मृत्यु करती है। मुझे धार्यवासी ब बु की इस मन्मथिज का दण कर तो प्रबन्धन बुद्ध हुआ कि-मु ने न्यय है हा ईमको लेकर परेशान हा रहे हैं। जब बहुमन्धर मुनिपुत्रकी की ऐसे दृश्य देखकर पीन नही होती तो हम न्यय ने ही उनके किम क्या कि ता करे और प्रमथ नात ता वर ब। मन्मथो ने देव मर्तिनो के प्राय वक्ता तुल्य देवतालिया खु-गारी हाथ बना विचारर पन्दनो न लखी करती। क्या बहुमन्धरक मृतपुत्रकी न कभी देवताली प्राय का भा विरोध किता है? क्या कर्नाटक म सत्यता नामक दली के मन्मन्धर के प्राथमिज बालाभो की वेधवर्णी बन कर चिरकास तक दूरावार पूर्ण अवात करनेवाय धर्म अश्वबाधियो के खिलाफ की कभी मृतपुत्रकी न प्रा-बाज उठाई है। क्या ने लाग धरने का हि दू नही मानत ?

और लख तो यह कि बहुमन्धरक वि-मुद्रा की प्रायनाश की कोट पृथुवा की को धारका हमारे मित्र की है, तो मैं उन्हे बना दू कि तुमो के बहुमन्धर पौराणिक धर्म ने तो मानन गाने की धार्मिक स्वी-

कृति प्राप्त है। इनक नेमन को के राजा इन्द्र के देवदार न रम्मा, मनका, उचबो प्राय प्रबन्धर नाथली और नाथली है। इनके मान्य देवता किम स्वय तावदक मूल करते हैं। देवी पावती सात्म नृ- करती है। महर्षि का सम्मान पायेबाके नाथन मुनि की नाथते और नाते है। धर्मिक नवा इतके धर्म ने तो गडव किम, लखरा विद्याकर प्रायि माननबाको की विभिन्न योगिया ही कल्पत की गई है। बहा तक कि इनके प्रमुक्त बाराध विष्णु की मोहिनी का रूप धारण कर नाथते हैं। फिर धर्मगो को ही ननी लख करते धर्मिपुत्रक वि-मुद्राका लकर के मन ने भी विकार लख करते हैं। इसके मान्य देवताको का राजा इन्द्र का धारम पाकर धर्मन ए धर्मन बलीन धार धर्मिमा कुल नृपो के विमथ मिज जेन सत्य बर्मा की तस्मा धर्म का देनी है।

जिम धर्म का य देवा देवताको का ही बर मन्मथीन धारि स परदेव न हा ता हमारे प्राय जना नृदमन पर विद्याय वेदे ऐसे दुःख स न्यो न्यय ने परेशान हाते हैं।

—डा भवनामाना भारतीया

### हिन्दू अन्धकार...

(लेख पृष्ठ 1 का)

हिन्दू हैं। मैं बौद्ध और सिख धारि जेन, बौद्ध और सिख धारि की केवल सामाजिक धार ऐतिहासक दृष्टि से हिन्दू हैं। धर्मका केवल हिन्दू अन्धविषत बल मानून अर्धन हिन्दू कोट विमथ के प्रमुगार हिन्दू हैं। उन्हे न्यायमान से हिन्दू धर्म की सम्प्रदाय नही मानी है।

इसलिए यह सचमुच धारमर्ष की बात है कि शैली न्यायान्त ने हिन्दू के दा धर्म स्वीकार करते हुए मैं बौद्ध और सिखो के विपरीत धार्मिक दृष्टि से केवल धार्य समाज को ही हिन्दू धर्म का एक सुधरा हुआ सम्प्रदाय किम ब्रह्मर पौरिषत किता है? क्याका धार्य समाज के पक्ष म यह किम करने के कही धार्मिक लखत है कि सनातनी या पौरा-पौराणिक हिन्दू धर्म का ज न या सम्प्रदाय नही हो। तकता बंता हम पूर्व धार्याय ने स्पष्ट कर चुके हैं।

### नये समाज में...

(लेख पृष्ठ 3 का)

वो ही क्या धार्य समाज उन्के प्रति सत्य धार उदासीन रह चुक लखी लेबा कर सकत है, क्याका उते हम किता ने उचित मनुष्य की देमा है।

(8) पिछनी सती आत्मसमाज के इतिहास का लखा गुण भी। क्या किम लख है कि ने सत्याने हमारे लिए धार केवल सत्यसाहे है एक प्रकार विर-यद) गुरुकुल कालेय धारम, सत्यापि? क्या यह ठीक है कि ने सत्याप हमारे अधिकार और स्वतन्त्र से बाहर निकल वरी है और इन्हे धार्य समाज के मिमन को कोई विशेष मान नही हो रहा? क्या इन्के बसाने में हमारी धार्मिक का धर्मन्य नही हो रहा है? हमारे धारम के अन्तर तो इनके धारम नही बर रहे? क्या इन्हे सरकार को भी प देना चाहिए या इनका साबजिक टटल बना देना चाहिए?

(9) वन देवतातो में धारमिजन का कार्य सुधार व न बराने के लिए बौद्ध धर्मनरी जंगल करने के केन्द्र अन्धविषत करने का क्या बर्मा हो हाथ ने लेना हाथमा? देव के बाहर काय करते के लिए हमें धर्म, धारम, कर्मा और विशेष माहिष्ट की धार-

स्वकता होनी। इस काम को हम नके विस्तार है, यह बात हम सापनी वरेनी।

बहुत ही कमजोरी होये हुए भी धार्य समाज देव की सत्यते धार्मिक सुधारिता लखा है। धार्य कपोको रूपे की सत्यि इतके पास है। वही हमारे धार्य समाज मरि है। धर्मक किता सत्याप है। नियमधर्म प्रत्येक धार्य समाज में एक ही प्रभावी के सात्यापिक (विचार-तन्त्र) लख स होने हैं, यह एक ही सत्याप, एक सा धर्मिहाम, एक ही सुवि-धार्यता होनी है। (विशेषो के भी ने म न पत्र बात हैं), एक ही पत्रिज स विचार स स्का और म्हा स स्कार (और भी धार्य स स्कार) होते हैं। धर्मो एक कपता किनी धारमरी हिन्दू सत्यदाय ने नही है। हमारे वर लो स स्कारो की मल पत्रिज पत्र-विशे साधारण हिन्दू परो ने भी लोकायि हो गयी है। हमारे पुरोहित अन्धत वषो के अन्धित्वो ने के हैं (हिन्दू लोकायि ने रहित)। इन्हे हम पत्रिजन, पुरोहिता या धारम नकुरे हैं इनमे धर्मक अन्धेतिज वेधम हो जव ने हिन्दू धर्मो ने सत्यर कारने बाते हैं तो धर्मन रीति नही इम कि तुम धर्मना किम बर्न क।

### आय समाज धर्मनरी द्वारा प्रकाशित साहित्य

#### नो लखान्य कार्य द्वारा लिखन दुस्तराणि

1. देव धार और हिन्दू समाज की धार समाज का देन—मूल्य 0.50 पैसे
2. हमारी राष्ट्रीयता का धारम-मूल्य 1.00
3. धारमर संहिता—मूल्य 0.50 पैसे
4. धार समाज हिन्दू विचारत हिन्दू धर्म (धर्मजी)—विशेष विचारधी हिन्दू 75.00
5. धार समाज हिन्दू धर्म का सम्प्रदाय नही मूल्य—50 प धर्म्य प्रकाशन

1. धार समाज (हिन्दी) मूल्य सजिव 20.00 प धर्म्य 16.00, ने, लाला लालधाराय
2. धर्म किता (भाग 1 से 11 तक) पुरे सैत का मूल्य 32-00
3. धारमर कथा सत्य—मूल्य 3.00
4. परिचय निवेदनिका (समस्त देव-विशेध की धार्य विमल सत्यापों का प्रकाशन)—मूल्य 12.00

### सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश ग्रन्थ माला 15-भाग

(सत्येक सत्युल्ला पर स्वतन्त्र टुकट)

- 1- ईश्वर का नाम धर्मक
- 2- धारम माता-पिता
- 3- किता और चरित्र निर्माण
- 4- दुःखमाय का यहुल
- 5- सत्यापी और धर्म सता हो?
- 6- राजम अन्धकार
- 7- ईश्वर और देव
- 8- धर्म की उत्पत्ति
- 9- स्वय और नरक कहा है?
- 10- लोके कुरे ने धर्म नही है
- 11- हिन्दू की निर्भरता
- 12- बौद्ध और लो नरक
- 13- देव और ईश्वर नरक
- 14- दुस्तरा और बौद्ध धर्म
- 15- लख का धर्म सत्याप धारम

विशेष—धर्मो टुकट धार्य धर्मनरी के लोटी के कितायो के द्वारा लिखि है एय धर्मनामा का सम्प्रदाय धार्य समाज अन्धतेर के प्रथम गो, सत्या-धर्मजी धारम ने किता है। धर्ममाता के पुरे सैत का मूल्य 8/- रूपये है।





## रोटी से बची आस्था

श्री ज्योतिषमय के नाम व उनके लेखन से आप अपरिचित नहीं होंगे। इनका नाम बर्बाद से दिल्ली प्रस की पत्रिकाओं (सर्तिस मुक्ता आदि) में इनके तत्कालीन लेखन के कारण पौराणिक व आध्यात्मिक क्षेत्र में बड़ा विवाद रहा है।

बच गत कई महीनों से श्री ज्योतिषमय सन्तुष्ट के लिए लिख रहे हैं और जा लिख रहे हैं उसमें से दिल्ली प्रस के उनके द्वारा लिखे गए लेखों में व्याप्त विचारों में परस्पर 3 और 6 का संघर्ष है। हमारे निजी मन से श्री ज्योतिषमयों के विचारों में कुछ धार्मिकजनक परिलक्षित उनका आग्रहय मान लेय पर व्यसप्रस सन्तुष्ट से कुछ जाना हा होगा।

श्री स्व देव विशेष मवान् बाना दैनिक हिंदू के विषय में आपने विरह प्रकाश की अमना दाम अक्षर के रसम जमुना क हिनारे में मे पडा गी होता कि देखो जा मे कि प्रकाश कि त्रिशा के निदनामुसार अपनी आत्मा मुस्लिम लोग से जा कश्मीर के लोग का प्रापेगण्ड करने का दारिद्र्य सहण कर लिया था।

आइए। अब आपकी धार्मिक सामाजिक खन के एक ऐसे धुर धर लेखक से मिलिए जो धार एक मे प्रखरा अक्षर धार्मिक मजाज का कायाकल्प करने के के लिए कसर करते हुए है। ये महापुरुष सच की कृपा दी मे कई बार विदेश की सर का लु फ भी उठा आए है और परिणाम संस्तरना श्री प्रसा के रूप मे एक बार प्राप्त कर चक है मध्यप्रति ये सच प्रकाश प्रगा की धार्मिकमाज मे कन का जी तोड़ कागिण कर रहे है।

वीरेन्द्र जं

## आर्यसमाज और... उन्हें अपनी आस्था का सख्तीर मजर नही आता

हैं। बात बहुत कुछ सत्य है चर लेखर और अनुयायी दोनों में प्रसिद्ध साम्प्रदायिकता की घोर से मया बर्बाद रही तथा साम्प्रदायिक बंधन के लिए सगं बहुमत की कोना है। परन्तु मैं प्रश्न का जवाब है कि धर्मपदीय साम्प्रदायिकता की बहावा देन मे आसक दल ने ही कौन कसर रही है फिर कबल विराधी नेताओं की शीघ्र वेना लेखर है।

30 मार्च को मोट क्लब पर वीरज्योती में प्रवृत्ता बुद्धी और तैयब महापुरुषों ने विश्व ईसाक विप्लवम विषय उठ पर क्या सरकार ने कोई कायबाही की? बच साही इमाम ने आशा महमिद के दरबारे बच कर निचे और अपने अनुयायियों में उस जन समाले का प्रयास किया तो क्या दिनी प्रमाण मे बुद्धी की मया का घागे मरकर निस्वर व उमिद बंधकियों के स्वागत तर्क करने का धार्य मन उसे नहीं बिता? तो कैवल विराधी दोनों की ही साम्प्रदायिक हथि करण के लिये बाघ रणिक एगो दलिकीय है काह स तो 1916 की लखनऊ काग मे ही प्रथम बार जो मुस्लिम साम्प्रदायिकता का घन 1 ता बह जग सक मरगो ह जा है। पवित्र मे कल तक की उने बचपान हो जन

इसी वाक्य म न म न्न साल की बचपान और निमित्त मे उर उरने का उदभव दिया गया है बचो तो यह है हिंदुस्थान का यह चुन बचा नेदीनाल मे दलगत राजन निज उर उरने हा बचा बा घ बचा उरने मनी बचपान बचपान निमित्त ही नही जमी कि इस बार उरने निमी।

आध सामाज क निम सगी जन एक मे ह है बच तक कि मर प्रनि उने के बहावर मे कोई विधिपला न निम के पड़े। इमनिम एम की हुनर पर बनीय नेम बा व धम 1 के सच भी यह है कि अय सच न वा प्रसा न तो सामाज दल ही करेया धीन के बि शी लन 1 उने से बच के बच बूत पर ही प्रसा प्रवि 5 का बचपान प्रमाण है।

ईरान के धार्मिक प्रमुख मिया आयतुल्ला खुमैनी ने मेरठ के दलों के लिए भारत सरकार की मस्सना करते हुए अपनी मे सरे मुसलमानों के प्रति अपनी सहानुभूति प्रकट की है। यद्यपि उनका यह कृत्य हमारी सम्प्रभुता का सरसर उल्लंघन है परन्तु इस तथ्य की हम उपेक्षा भी कर दें तो श्री-दस्तावी तीव्र मक्का से तकड़ो निर्दोष मुस्लिमों को भीत की बलि चढ़ाने वाले खुमैनी को मेरठ के दलों के सरे मुसलमानों के प्रति सहानुभूति बखाने का अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं हो जाता है।

आयतुल्ला खुमैनी की अनु-वाई मे ईरान ईराक से गत छात्र बर्षों से युद्ध लड़ रहा है। वे कौनों देश को मुस्लिम देश हैं। और इस युद्ध मे लाखों मुस्लिम अपने प्राणों की गवा चुके हैं।

गर मुस्लिम देशों के मुसलमानों के प्रति कथित सहानुभूति दिखानेवाला मे एक अकेला ईरान नहीं है। बल्कि ऐसा स्व भाव तो प्रत्येक मुस्लिम राष्ट्र का ही रहा है यहां तक का पाकिस्तान जहां देश जो पठान मुजाहीद व गिवा सुषी के परस्पर घनी जन का संदान बना हुआ है मेरठ के दलों के लिए भारत सरकार की धमो बला करते सन किच्छे माधु श्री लज्जा अनुभव नहीं करता है।

—वीरेन्द्र धार्म

आयतुल्ला खुमैनी के मुसलिम विद्वान एवं लेखक श्री डा बाबू साहोब यादव एम ए पी एवं बी की लिट अध्ययन संस्कृत विभागा

बी शालीय कासेज धर्मोपदेष्टा की दयानंद वैदिक बोधपीठ के अध्यक्ष पद पर नियुक्त किया गया है।

डा यादव। दिसंबर 1987 से अपना नया कायमार सभासेने।

—प्रधानमन्त्री अधिकारी

## आर्यसमाज अजमेर में वेद प्रचार सप्ताह मनाया गया

आर्यसमाज अजमेर द्वारा आयोजित के उपलक्ष में आयोजन वेद प्रचार सप्ताह के अ तगत जन्माश्री पत्र तक (वि 9 8 87 ई से लेकर वि 16 8 87 तक) आयोजन के प्रख्यात विद्वान एवं विभाजित नेता डा स्वामी सय प्रकाशजी सरस्वती की वेद कक्षा का प्रायोजन किया गया।

इन अवसर पर श्री राम च ब्रजो एवं श्री अनंतरावजी व भक्तिगु भजन भी हुए।

## पं. भुजनाथ शास्त्री का निधन

अजमेर 18 अगस्त। की ए बी उ मा विद्यालय के प्रतुपूष प्रभासाध्यपक व मधुनाथ शास्त्री का मन दिवस हैदराबाद मे निधन हो गया। स्व शास्त्री कसर से पीड़ित थे। उ होंने उक्त विद्यालय की हीन वय तक प्रधानाध्यपक के पद पर कार्य किया था।

आर्यसमाज के प्रधान आचार्य श्री बत्तापय धाय मंत्री एवं प्रधानाचार्य श्री राधासिंह ने श्री शास्त्री के निजम पर शोक सव दना व्यक्त करते हुए उनके परि

पत्र भेजा।

श्री रत्नलाल गप से धाय प्रि टस अजमेर से मुद्रित कराकर प्रकाशक राधासिंह न आर्यसमाज भवन केसरगढ़ अजमेर से प्रकाशित किया।

**होम कार्या : 21010**



सम्पादकीय—

## घराय जोशी का नई शंकराचार्य का करिए

“नौठ शंकराचार्य” के पर-स्वात को केकर काजी नौठ के पूर्व शंकराचार्य स्वामी जने-शरस्वती मत एक मन्त्र से किमाव का के-इ बने हुए हैं।

इन सचयों से जहाँ एक ओर स्वामी अनेक शरस्वती का रहना है कि उन्होंने पर-स्वात धरणी इच्छा से किमाव है, वही दूसरी ओर तुरी के शंकराचार्य स्वामी निरनन देवकी का कहना है कि उन्होंने स्वयं पर नहीं छोड़ा घमिनु उन्हें बनातु निमावा मया है। यशो निमावा मया? इन पर उनका कहना है कि स्वामी अनेक शरस्वती ततो-प्रमा के और हरिजन के मरिच प्रवेक के पक्षधर हैं और उनके यह निवार तौराधिक सच के विरुद्ध है।

उपरोक्त सचयों से हमारा कहना है कि यदि स्वामी अनेक शरस्वती को अपने उक्त विचारों के कारण पर-स्वात के लिए माध्य निमावा पदा, तो वे सचयों के पात्र हैं। इसके साथ ही देवोतरा के रूप कवर नवी कायक को केकर शरस्वती के मुखमण्डी जोशी का पंथाय करवेवाभी महिमाओं को हमारा सुझाव है कि उन्हें घराय वेपारे जाओ का नही मास्ताकि सपराओ तुरी के शंकराचार्य का करना चाहिए और प्रभुध वनो को चाहिए कि अपने मुख्य राजनीतिक स्वाधों के लिए मतोप्रवा वेओ कुरीति को मोस्ताहस देवे वासी भारतीय जनता पार्टी का बहिष्कार करें।

कथकल सतीशर शरस्वती के वास्तविकियों के लिए भी सच्चा का विषय है। और उनकी प्रथममत्ता का परिचायक है।

## आय सन्नाज और हिन्दवी

किसी भी देश को अन्धमत्ता व अज्ञाति के लिए किसी भी एक मन्त्रक यावा का हाना आयकक है महवि सप्रास इन तथ्य को समझते हैं।

उनकी यावुमाचा मुजरायी भी। लेकिन उन्होंने हिन्दी को सपराया, क्योंकि एक वाय हिन्दी ही तमस्त देश के तमस्त यावा का काय कर सकगी है।

स्वामी की भी मूल्य के के पक्षपात छात्राचार्य हिन्दी के प्रसार प्रचार में, धरणी रहा। यह एक कि मजाज के उसे अपने हिन्दी प्रचार के कारण घकाविधो का कोम याजिन की बना पडा।

आरमनव की एकता हिन्दी से ही सम्भव है, यदि इस मन्त्र को दानमन्त्र की तरह स्वतन्त्र भारत के प्रथमक की समझ जाते तो आज देश टूटने की परिस्थितियों में न होता।

—बीरेन्द्र बायं

( पृष्ठ 5 का )

यह विरोध कावसा परमाणुओं का कडाई से पालन करने वाला मुजरायी का दुर्घटनो को दुरा समझने वाला और बर्लनसिद्ध राभी द्वारा स्वयं मन्त्र से किने मोनों को बाहर निकालें जाने की कसौटी कोविधो का समर्थक और निन्दी (नवी-पुनो) को वाचाय हल्ला करने के बनाय अपनी निष्ठ निष्ठ के अनुसार आग-बात मोनों को निमावा ममाने पर चरता है। इन विरु में वाच कवरन और तो कर्नल है। इनमें राजनिष्ठ और पक्षधर हैं। हिन्द सपराया तमय के विरुद्ध हमारा चौपडा का माय सलते उतर है और मेरे जैसे लोग भी हैं। विरोध के अनुमान के अनुसार सधरो की सख्या 30 के 100 के बीच है।

इन विरोधों को हथियारों की प्रति मुष्णल पाकिस्तान से होती है। धन व निमावाओं की हथियारों का मुख्य सुझाव पडता है। काविस्तानी सैन्यो व इन्वीली शालकर से हम कट्टरता किमते हैं। मातकवाधियों में पाकिस्तानी केमों में प्रमिलन विवा जाता रहा है।

मातकवाधियों में अधिकांश किमान वरिचारी हैं और उनमें कुछ सलवक हैं। अधिकांश मंडिक हैं। इनके वे अधिकांश महिमाएँ हैं जिन्होंने मातकवाधियों को वा तो शरण दी है वा उनके लिए कार्य किया।

मातकवादी देश के मुजरायी का उपयोग अपने इस कार्य के लिए बजातार कर रहे हैं। स्वयं मन्त्रियों इसके सलुता नहीं है।

## राष्ट्रवादी युवा मुस्लिम, नेता : एम. ए. नकवी

एम. ए. नकवी, अग्रज इस्लाम मुस्लिम जून कानूनत अपने राष्ट्रवादी विचारों के कारण गत कई वर्षों से जहाँ मुस्लिम कट्टरवाधियों के रोष के पात्र रहे हैं, वही दूसरी ओर उन्हें राष्ट्र के सभी देश भक्त नागरिकों से भारा सम्मान की साजसा है। मेरठ व दिल्ली के दसो पर ही उनके विचार पक्षपात रहित और सत्यता से ओत-ओत हैं। हाल ही में “अरमम” को दिए उनके साक्षात्कार का प्रथमोक्त कीजिए—

★ क्या कारण है कि आजारी के 40 लाख मात्र भी संप्रदायिकता का जहर पडता हो जा रहा है ?

★ इसका सच हमारे राजनीतिज्ञों को पता है, जिन्होंने मोदों के लालच में सांप्रदायिक तत्वों, विविधकर मुस्लिम समुदाय की कट्टरपथी तकतो को प्रोत्साहन और राजनीतिक सहायता दिया है, साथ ही अप देखा, राजनीतिक दलों के कट्टरपथी मुस्लिम नेतृत्व पैदा करने को जैसे होठ लगी है। संयत सहायदारी (मनाता पार्टी), केर बार, ब सारी, तारिक अमनवर (काय) न-इ ), धायन खा (लोकमल-न), रफीद मसूद (कोमल-न)।

★ क्या आप मानते हैं कि आजारी के बाद मुस्लिम समुदाय सरकार के पक्षपातपूर्ण रवई का बिचार हुआ है ?

★ नहीं मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता, हिन्दुस्तान में आजारी के बाद इस्लाम जितनी तेजी से अपना है धोर उमे सुखा मिली है, वंसा तो पाकिस्तान तथा अरब देशों में भी नहीं हुआ है।

★ तो फिर क्या कारण है कि मुस्लिम समुदाय में वरन-पथियों और सुधारवाधियों की अपेक्षा कट्टरपथी साम्प्रदायिक नेतृत्व को जल्दी मायला और समर्थन दिया है ?

★ मोहम्मद सली जिन्ना ने जिस तरह अपनी सतों पर पाकिस्तान लिया, उससे मुस्लिम समुदाय में यह प्रजाति पैदा हो गयी कि कट्टरपथी नेतृत्व ही उनके हितों की रक्षा कर सकता है, नार्में पूरी करा सकता है।

★ मेरठ दसो में पुलिस पी. ए. सी पर सांप्रदायिक होने का आरोप सौहार्दाय मया है ?

★ देखिए, वे सच सुराबतों का मनोबल गिराने की साजिस है, आप पुलिस-पी. ए. सी को याजिन तो कह सकते हैं, पर सांप्रदायिक नहीं। छात्रों, अध्यापकों, वकीलों या दूसरे कर्मचारियों को हडतास के दौरान पी. ए. सी. का जो दर्दना रहता है, वही दसो के दौरान भी रहता है वह हमसावर पर हमले का काय करती हैं। ईंट का जनाब डरे से बैठी है बच का मोती से। लेकिन यह भी गलत है। लोग अपनी सांप्रदायिकता सुनाने के लिये जिम्मेदारी पुलिस पी. ए. सी. पर थोप देना चाहते हैं।

★ सांप्रदायिकता से निबटने के लिए क्या किया जाना चाहिए ?

★ राजनीतिक दल मोदों की राजनीति से बाध भाये, सरकार सप्रदाय विधेय के लुकिरगुए की नीति छोड़ें, राष्ट्र की मुज-वारा से जुड़ी सोचवानी प्रगतिशील कानूनों को कोसलहने से और जनसाधारण से इन सांप्रदायिक, कट्टरपथी ताकतों को बैकबाद किया जाये बाकी इनसे निबटने का कार्य जनता खुद करेगी। सत्यता, सलाहस और स्पष्टाधिवा जैसे सपुमुखों से सल-हुत श्री नकवी को हमारी हार्दिक बसाई है।

—बीरेन्द्र बायं

काविस्तानी मातकवाधियों का बिचार होनेको भी की परिचयन हुआ है। पहले पाकिस्तान हिन्दु होते थे, पिछले का चाह के प्यारत लिख रहे हैं।

मुस्लिम कमिस्तर मुस्लिम रिसेत और पायपाय विद्यायं सकर दोनो में मातकवाध को कनायत करती की विद्या में कपकी परिपक्वता का परिचय दिया।

वे कहते हैं कि किश विन के और उनकी पत्नी व करकतों के विना निर्भय होकर स्वयं मन्त्र का सचेत तब ही वे माय कपते हैं कि पचाय धरणी वृद्धे सेवी निधति में का मया है।











## विशेषज्ञों के अनुसार

वेद ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है।

सत्य को बहल करने और सत्य से धोखे में सर्वश्रेष्ठ उपाय रहना चाहिए

—महर्षि ब्रह्मगुप्त

दशमपाठ्य : 162

पृष्ठ संख्या : 1972949087

। ओ३म् ।

# आर्य पुनर्विजय

पाणिनिक पद्य

“आर्य हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म।  
ओ३म् हमारा वेद है, सत्य हमारा धर्म ॥”

## कुम्भस्थो विद्वन्मार्गम्

सकल जगत् को धार्य बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :

समाज की वर्तमान एवं भविष्य में पैदा होने वाली समस्याओं को दृष्टिकोण रखते हुए आर्यसमाज का पुनर्गठन करना है।

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अथर्व मित्रावधयम् अविभादय आतामय परोक्षम् ।

अथर्व नक्तमय दिना नः सर्वा धामा नम मित्र भवन्तु ॥

प्रथिन क्र. 8 सन्त 2044

बाषिक मू 15/-, एक प्रति 60 पैसे

## सार्वदेशिक समा का महत्त्वपूर्ण निर्णय

# आर्यसमाज में पौराणिक घुसपैठियों पर प्रतिबन्ध

आर्यसमाज की विरोधित आर्य-वेदिक धर्म प्रतिनिधि समा के सम्मुख यह पात्र वर्षों से धर्म समाज की वर्तमान स्थिति तथा भविष्य के सम्बन्ध में तथा द्वारा आचार्य वसन्तार्थ धर्म के सर्वोच्च ने नियुक्त उपस्थिति की रिपोर्ट विचारणीय। इस बार 18 वं 19 सितम्बर को मेरठ हली की सिफारिशों पर विचार करने के लिए समा के प्रधान स्वामी आनन्दवीर को ने वरपर के सत्यो तथा कुछ प्रमुख धर्म बुद्धि-वीरियों की एक विशेष बैठक आयोजित की। और दोनों दिन रिपोर्ट के अन्तर्गत विचार पर विस्तार से विचार-विनिमय किया गया। जिसकी विस्तृत जानकारी हम 'आर्य पुनर्विजय' के आगामी अंक में देंगे।

20 सितम्बर को वरपर ने औपचारिक रूप से यह विषय पुनः प्रस्तुत किया गया। जिसने अन्य विचारकों पर अनेक निर्णयात्मक निर्णय किए गए अनेक उम्मेद सत्ये एक उल्लेखनीय निर्णय यह था कि भविष्य में ऐसा कोई व्यक्ति धर्म-समाज या भविष्यकारी नहीं बन सकेगा जो दूसरे के स्थान में जग या किसी व्यक्ति विशेष की आराधना करता है अथवा करता हो,

स्वयन विशेष को ही सर्व मानकर यात्रा करता हो या जन्मजात जात-पात और सुभाषित के विस्मृत अथवा व्यवहार में उनपर आचरण करता हो तथा अन्य किसी भवितिक कार्य में स्थित हो।

कई वर्षों से अनेक धर्म पुष्पों द्वारा ऐसी सिफारिशें प्राप्त होती रही हैं कि अनेक स्थानों पर धर्म समाज और उसकी विस्तार सत्ता पर ऐसे व्यक्तियों का नियन्त्रण व

भविष्य अथवा 'छा' है, जिनका आर्यसमाज के नीतिगत सिद्धांतों पर विचार नहीं है और जो प्रति-पूजा, कृतक भाव व तीर्थ जैसे धर्म-विषय और आर्यसमाज व अधि-व्यापक के सिद्धांतों के विपरीत कार्य करते रहे हैं।

समा में यह भी निश्चय किया गया कि भविष्य में आर्यसमाज का सत्य बनने के लिए जो प्रार्थना-पत्र दिया जायेगा उसमें सत्यता के अथवा व्यक्ति के लिए उपयुक्त धामन की घोषणा करना धर्मवर्ध होगा।

उपस्थिति की अन्य अनेक सिफारिशों को भी सैद्धांतिक रूप से स्वीकार कर दिया गया है। जिसका विवेकान्त हम आगामी अंक में प्रस्तुत करेंगे।

## मूल-सूत्र

'आर्य पुनर्विजय' के 15 सितम्बर के अंक में पृष्ठ 2 संपादकीय की 9 वीं पंक्ति में प्रेस व संपादकीय विभाग की निम्नी-मुनी सहायकधारी ने 'सती-भवा' के पत्राश्रित विरह अथवा अपने से रहे गया। अथवा: पाठक सुचारु में।

—संपादक

# पंजाब में हिंसा एक सकती है बशर्ते....

— वीरेन्द्र कुमार धर्म —

बंशवर्ष से निम्नी बचपों के पदा बसता है कि पंजाब की स्थिति अब गहरे से कड़ी बेहतर है। जबकि अन्य की अतिरिक्त उपाधियों द्वारा किसी भी किसी हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही का समा-चार निम्न हो रहा है। परन्तु फिर भी के अन्तर्गत को तरुण कुलकर नहीं केव था रहे हैं। और यह निम्न दृष्टि हिंसा उनकी अत्यन्तवादी और कोय की निम्नी-मुनी प्रतिष्ठा की परिपक्वता धाम ही है।

पंजाब के पूर्व मुख्यमंत्री की सुर-धीन सिंह बलनामा का यह कथन कि उनके शासनकाल में उपाधियों द्वारा बल सत् कोभी की सत्ता से राज्यपति शासन के दौरान सारे वर्ग लोगों की

सत्ता कड़ी ब्यावा है, सत्य हो सकती है। और आर्यों की उनकी इस्तीतव के पक्ष में हो सकते हैं। लेकिन जो भी हो शास का पंजाब बलनामा के समय के पंजाब से कड़ी बेहतर बलनामा में है। पंजाब के राज्यपाल की रे व पुनित प्रमुख की बुनियाद रिबों के सन्निहित सत्प्रयासों से हो यह सब सत्य हो सका है। आतंकवादियों की नसिधियों पर अथवा तथा है और उनकी व्यापक रूप में के वर पक्ष की गई है।

कुछ लोग ऐसे होते हैं, जिनमें लोक-वैतनिक की सामर्थ्य नहीं होती है के सब सत्य की धारण होखी सत्ता की इच्छित रखते हुए वास्त-

विज्ञा को नकारने की कोशिश करते हैं। और कुछ लोग ऐसे भी होते हैं जो स्वीकरी के अन्तर्गत पक्ष की अथवा कतिमायुक्त पक्ष की और बेहता भवितिक पक्ष करते हैं। तथापि कुछ राजनीतिक व पत्रकारों को धाम के पंजाब व बलनामा के पंजाब में कोई भी वरत नबर नहीं था। और यहा तक कि मुख्यधर्मियों के बलन का हत्यावा सेते हुए वे स्थिति की बयकरता का वास्तुकी उपाधियों जैसी व्यापार में बर्धन करते हैं। जबकि यदि व्याप मुख्यधर्मियों के बलन को मुख्य धर्म के देवधे का प्रयास करें तो आतंकविज्ञा धाम के सामने था जाएगी। दरम्यान कुछ धर्मियों का

यह बलान भी उपाधियों के दृष्टे मनोबल का ही परिणामक है और फिर बहुत के वर से बल न देने वाले धर्मियों की विध्वनीय स्थितों में रहे हो कहां गई है।

पंजाब का भावीत बलन रहा है। और धामा की कुछ पुछकी निरर्थक सिद्धांत दे रही हैं। प्रकरत है केवल कुछ बुद्धिमान पूर्ण कथनों की-भाति की सूरज निम्न धामिया।

पंजाब-अथवा एक अतिरिक्त राज्य-नीतिक सत्यता है। परन्तु किसी राज्य-नीतिक वास्तुकी से पूर्व आतंकवादी को उपाधियों बलना ही होगा। अतएव यहक, अथवा हिंसा को रोचना है। की (ये पृष्ठ 6 पर

निवेद्यक : सत्ताधेय धर्म

प्रधान संपादक : रासतिह

संपादक : वीरेन्द्र कुमार धर्म

कार्या : 21010



## अल्पसंख्यकों की परिभाषा की समस्या

भारतीय राजनीति में यह एक परम्परा रही हो गई है कि एक सत्ता चुनावों की जब भी भारत की एकता तथा राष्ट्रीय एकता खमिलते होते हुए देखा गया है। 1987 में जो इस सत्ता की एक मीटिंग बुलाई गई, इस सत्ता में ऐसा महसूस किया कि अल्प संख्यकों की सही व उचित परिभाषा दी जाने।

माइनोरिटी (अल्पसंख्यक) सेटिंग शब्द "माइनर" (Minor) तथा "ity" के सम्मिश्रण से बना है। जो एक तुलने में पूर्ण है। सत्ता में कम होते हुए भी जो एक पूर्ण सत्ता बनाते हैं।

अल्पसंख्यकों की परिभाषा कहीं भी पूर्ण रूप से नहीं दी गई है। बीसवीं सताब्दी के मध्य अल्पसंख्यकों की सही परिभाषा न ता बिटेनी शब्दकोष, ना भारतीयों की सत्ता और ना राष्ट्रसंघ के द्वारा दी गई है। यही एक की सत्ता राष्ट्र सच में भी अल्पसंख्यकों की सही परिभाषा देने का कदम नहीं किया है, इस अल्पसंख्यकों को परिभाषित नहीं कर सके हैं।

भारत का संविधान बनाते समय भी अल्प संख्यकों की धारणा को परिभाषित करते समय कठिनाई अनुभवी की गई। इस समय के मानवतुल्य हमारे संविधान निर्माताओं ने इस धोरण अधिक विचार (ध्यान) दिया। फिर भी इस धारणा को संक्षिप्त तथा सही रूप से परिभाषित करने का प्रयास नहीं किया गया। संविधान तथा के सदस्य की टी टी कृष्णास्वामी ने उच्च विभिन्न वर्ग को अल्पसंख्यकों की सत्ता दी।

**कानूनी व्याख्या अल्पसंख्यकों के बारे में** संविधान में अल्प-संख्यक शब्द को बहुत कम स्पष्ट (प्रयोग) किया गया है। धीरे ना ही इसके अर्थों में किसी वर्ग विशेष का उल्लेख किया, गया है। अल्पसंख्यक शब्द का प्रयोग संविधान में केवल दो धाराओं 29 और 30 में किया गया है। यहाँ भी इस शब्द का प्रयोग परिभाषा की दृष्टि से नहीं किया गया है। यहाँ इस धारा में अल्पसंख्यक शब्द को एक उन्नीसवीं के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है न कि विश्व सत्ता के रूप में है। संविधान की धारा 366 की विभिन्न परिभाषिक शब्दों के अर्थ को स्पष्ट करने के लिये काम में ली गई है। यह इस प्रकार के 30 शब्दों का एक सच्यक करती है। किन्तु हमारे भी अल्पसंख्यक शब्द को मर्मिलत नहीं किया गया है। यहाँ तक की संविधान निर्माता भी इस शब्द को धारण करने की दृष्टि से प्रयोग करने में विचलित हो जाते हैं। यह इस कारण हो सकता है कि देश का बटवारा मुस्लिम लीग द्वारा पोषित अल्पसंख्यकों के आधार पर किया गया था। अल्पसंख्यकों का प्रश्न सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के समय सर्वप्रथम 1957 में केरल विभागा विधेयक के समय उठाया गया था। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने इस शब्द की व्याख्या इस प्रकार की। अल्पसंख्यक शब्द को संविधान में परिभाषित नहीं किया है। धीरे किसी संविधान परिभाषा के अभाव में यह कहा जा सकता है अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय वह समुदाय है जिसकी सत्ता सत्ता की कुल जनसंख्या के अंशों से भी कम है। इस 50% की व्याख्या इस प्रकार की गई है कि यदि विधेयक राज्य विधान सभ्यता से सम्बन्धित है, तो इसका तात्पर्य उस राज्य की जनसंख्या के 50% से ही और सभी सदस्य के प्रतिनिधय का प्रश्न धारा है तो सारे देश की जनसंख्या के आधार पर निर्धारित करना चाहिये।

### अल्पसंख्यक का शीर्षक

देश की सर्वोच्च न्याय पालिका द्वारा दिया गया एक अधिक सरल और कमकसरित्व है। किन्तु हमारे भी कुछ भाषाओं का सकती है। यह सम्भव है कि किसी राज्य की जनसंख्या में विभिन्न वय बिकरे हुए भी और कोई एक समुदाय राज्य की जनसंख्या के 50% प्रतिशत से अधिक ना हो तब इस सत्ता में उस राज्य के सभी वर्ग अल्पसंख्यक होने का भाषा कर सकते हैं।

संविधान में अल्प संख्यक शब्द की स्पष्ट परिभाषा पाने में असफल होने पर प्रत्येक यह उठता है कि देश में अल्पसंख्यकों को कौन बन ता है (अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग किसको कहा जाता है ?) यह दृष्टिकोण इस शब्द की व्याख्यात्मक परिभाषा को दृढ़ निश्चयाने के लिये मार्ग दर्शन करता है।

जैसे कि पहले कहा जा चुका है कि संविधान की धारा 29 और 30 भारत के अल्पसंख्यकों के हितों को रक्षा करने की गारंटी है। धारा 29 में कहा गया है कि नागरिका का कोई भी वर्ग जिसकी कोई विभिन्न भाषा लिपि व्यवस्था संस्कृति हो उसे इसे बनाय रखने का अधिकार होगा और दूसरी धारा अर्थात् धारा 30 के अनुसार अल्पसंख्यकों के अधिकार जो कि वर्ग में भाषा पर आधारित है। वे अपनी पसन्द की शिक्षा सम्पूर्ण स्थापित कर सकते हैं। यदि हम इन दोनों धाराओं को सम्मिलित करें तो इसका तात्पर्य यह होगा कि भारतीय संविधान में तीन प्रकार के अल्प-संख्यकों के हितों को रक्षा की गई है। यह तीन प्रकार के अल्पसंख्यक भाषा, वर्ग संस्कृति पर आधारित है।

भाषा और वर्ग के आधार पर भेद सम्भव में आता है। किन्तु संस्कृति के आधार पर भेद करने, कठिन प्रतीत होता है। यदि हम संस्कृति के आधार पर अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग का परीक्षण करें तो भारत में अल्पसंख्यकों की सत्ता की कोई सीमा नहीं रहेगी। इसके अतिरिक्त भारत में विभिन्न प्रकार की संस्कृतियाँ प्रचलित हैं। इस यह निश्चय करना कठिन हो जायेगा कि कौन अल्पसंख्यक है। धीरे कौन बहुसंख्यक है। किन्तु भाषा और वर्ग ऐसी दो सत्ताएँ हैं जो किसी समुदाय की संस्कृति का निर्धारण करती हैं। धन यह कहा जा सकता है कि भारतीय संविधान में केवल दो आधारों पर भाषा और वर्ग के आधार पर अल्पसंख्यकों को मान्यता दी गई है।

भारतीय संविधान 15 क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं को मान्यता प्रदान करता है। और हिन्दी को राष्ट्रीय भाषा मन्त्री कामगार की भाषा के रूप में मान्यता देता है। कई राज्यों में प्रशासनिक उद्देश्य से क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं का प्रयोग किया गया है और उन्हे स्कूल और कलेजों में प्रथम भाषा के रूप में पढाया जाता है। इससे भाषा के आधार पर अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग का अर्थ हुआ है। संविधान की विषय वस्तु के अनुसार अल्पसंख्यकों की भाषा इन 15 भाषाओं से किसी एक भाषा का होना आवश्यक नहीं है। दूसरे शब्दों में भाषा के आधार पर राज्य स्तर पर अल्पसंख्यक का तात्पर्य संविधान की धारा 29 के अन्तर्गत है। इस धारा में यह कहा गया है कि नागरिकों का कोई वर्ग जिसकी विभिन्न भाषा हो वह अपनी इस भाषा को बनाये रख सकता है। यदि उसकी सत्ता किसी भी सत्ता ना हो।

### भाषाओं समूह

वर्तमान भारतीय सर्व में यह कहा जा सकता है कि कोई एक भाषा बोलने वाला समूह किसी खास वर्ग का ही हो यह आवश्यक नहीं है। उदाहरण के लिये बंगाल में बंगला भाषा, हिन्दू मुस्लिम, और यह तक की ईसाईयों द्वारा भी बोली जाती है। इस प्रकार के समूह किसी क्षेत्र विशेष में धार्मिक भेद के साथ-साथ सम ना आधारों की भी रख सकते हैं। इसीलिए कहा जाता है कि यदि हम भारतीयों को सम्बन्धित रूप में विभाजित करता है तो भाषा अतिविवत भारतीयों को विभाजित करती है। धीरे यह विभाजन एक दूसरे पर "सीपासी" करते हैं।

भारत में हिन्दुत्व बहुसंख्यक वर्ग का वर्ग है तथा मुस्लिम विषय और ईसाई लीग बड़े अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग हैं। 1981 की जनगणना के आकड़ों के अनुसार हिन्दुओं की जनसंख्या 82.64%, मुस्लिम 11.35%, ईसाई 2.43%, विषय 1.96% तथा अन्य 1.62% है। इसका तात्पर्य यह हुआ कि भारत में अल्पसंख्यकों का प्रतिशत 17.36% कुल जनसंख्या का है। किन्तु कहानी यहाँ खत्म नहीं होती।

### एक तालेसिक धारणा—

जन्म कश्मीर	—	मुस्लिम	64.19%
नगरीय	—	मुस्लिम	94.84%
मेघालय	—	ईसाई	52.62%
मणालय	—	ईसाई	80.21%
मिजोरम	—	ईसाई	83.81%
पंजाब	—	सिख	60.75%

( पैग पृष्ठ 5 पर )





## दयानन्द कालेज अजमेर के चेयरमन वर दिकी तथा श्रमियों

दयानन्द कालेज, अजमेर के कृषि विभाग में कार्यरत श्री चेयरमन जैन (कोटेवा) के विरुद्ध कालेज की ओर से सन् 1969 में न्यायालय में एक बार प्रस्तुत किया गया था कि उन्होंने कालेज कृषि विभाग में दस लाख के रु-59, 128/- का भ्रम किया। जिसमें से ₹ 000/- व उनसे प्राप्त होने पर रु 51, 128/- उनकी शोर बाकी रहा। गत 11 वर्षों से यह बार न्यायालय में विचाराधीन था जिसका दिनांक 27-7-87 को कालेज के पक्ष में निर्णय हुआ और चेयरमन के विरुद्ध उपरोक्त राशि की दिक्की जारी की गई। इस सम्बन्ध में उनके विरुद्ध तीन फौजदारी श्रमियों भी सन् 1969 में न्यायालय में विचाराधीन हैं।

दयानन्द कालेज के पूर्व लेखा लिपिक चेयरमन (कोटेवा) जैन के विरुद्ध न्यायालय में कालेज के पक्ष में लगाया गया हज्जार रुपये की दिकी दी है। इस सम्बन्ध में इन्कृष्ट सज्जन बन्नी, आर्य समाज मित्रा सभा, अजमेर से सम्पर्क करें।

## विचराला का सती काण्ड ?

हे महा दुष्ट व धर्मनाक, जो काण्ड हुआ विचराला में। धर्मोन्मत्त जनों ने बरस करी, एक नारि श्रमि की ज्योता में। सीकर के गांव विचराला में अठारह वर्षीय रूप कबर। क्या सती हुई या जुआई गई, यह श्रमणा नारी अग्नि पर। क्या यही धर्म है नारी का, कोई तो हुये बला दीये। किछ बेध-बाध में हे ऐसा, कोई तो हुये जता दीये। यदि पतिव्रत धर्म यही है तो, सब विचराला जल जाये क्या? जो जलकर सती नहीं होती, वे धर्म हीन कहलाये क्या? यदि पतिव्रत धर्म यही होता तो राम की तीनों माताएं। भगसूता-सावित्री जैसी, जलजाती यह सब विचराला। जो युवकाल में सती हुई, यह तो एक बात निरासी थी। इस भाति उन्होंने बौद्धर, दुष्टों से साथ बचनी की। कुछ माते हैं जो सात-सुतर, यह विचरा को समझते हैं। जीवेनी की दुष्ट मानेगी, घरजात तो स्वर्ग बसते हैं। इस धर्म व साधन में धाकर, यह सतीकाण्ड हो जाते हैं। फिर बनाके घट व भेले सगा, पाखंडी मौज उड़ाते हैं। क्या यही गति है नारी की, क्या उसकी यह कहानी है। क्या 'यम नार्यस्तु पुण्यस्य' शास्त्री की सिफ्थ्य वांछनी है। क्या यही कीरता युवकी की, तबसावर जो ते समयमान बड़े। काठो कुटीरि पाखंडा को, यदि हो तुम सच्चे और बड़। यदि शाकि है कुछ भी तुम में, पत्नी की जाके रखा करो। निर्दोषी को जो मार रहे उनसे जुझो मातो या मरो। तुम नहीं जानते धर्म है क्या, व सत्य है क्या, विज्ञान है क्या? यह कण्ड प्रचाए मानते हो, नहीं जानते हो ईमान है क्या? जब बूढ़े विभुर विवाह करते, तब तुमको वासी सर्म नहीं। क्या ऐसी बालविधवाओं का फिर विवाह करना धर्म नहीं। पर बेध-बाध तो विचरा की, वासी करना बलवाते हैं। वे कहते हैं जयने बाले तो बोर नके ये जाते हैं। जो रुब तक धर्म, देखे के बातिर नारी जसाई जावेगी। कचे ककट की भाति नारि की होनी मनाई जावेगी। ऐ समाज सुधारक वीरजनी, इन हत्याओं को बलकारी। अत्याय, धर्म की धर्मनाक, इस पाप-भवा को सहाते। यदि यह हत्याएं नहीं रुकी, तो मानवता मर जावेगी। "भास्कर" इस भीषण ज्यामा में सारी जाति जल जावेगी।

—जयवन्ती प्रसाद सिन्हावल जयकार, 1430, ए० सिवलीन मार्ग कृष्णपोल, अजमेर।

## काल में काल

रे बनी रिंटीर इस विषय में बड़े धन्ये भगत कर रहे हैं। और बाकि रूप से सफल भी हुए हैं। यदि केवल सरकार सुकला रही है पाठ प्रस्ताव को लागू कर दे तो उन्हें अपने अधिकार की पूर्ण कले में बड़ी सफल मिलेगी।

कुछ राक्षसीय व दुष्टिनी की जो सरकार को पत्ता समझा के लिए निश्चिंत का उपराज देकर उप-बाधियों से बाधपीत करने की लगाह

(गृष्ट 1 का लेख)

दे रहे हैं। यह भी है व रिंटीर के अधिकार की भयल उपलब्धियों को तारीफों कले वासी बल है। इससे राज्य के साथ समर्थकों का अन्ध-धन उपचाधियों की भावी गमी के के रूप देखने से दृष्ट जावेगा और स्थिति खुले से भी बदल हो जायेगी। सरकार को बाकिष्ट कि कि नारिणी के मनोबल को निरासे वाली ऐसी किन्ती भी लगाह या नाम को कठोरा पूर्ण ठहुरा है।

## आर्य जगत

अविना आर्य समाज समस्तीपुर में आचार्य रामानन्द शास्त्री की प्रेरणा से आर्य युवा परिषद का गठन हुआ और पन्ध्र नुसार आर्य-अध्यक्ष, सभी की बरसल नुसार आर्य व श्री बर्तमान आर्य की कोषाध्यक्ष बनाया गया। —अनूप प्रसाद शर्मा (उपवर्गी)

अर्थात् सहाय वाली (राज) का 10, 1, 12, 13 छित को 47 वा बाकिरोलस युवधाम से सम्पन्न हुआ। स्वाधी जयवीरसामान्य श्री, स्वाधी निलानन्द श्री, स्वाधी प्रभावान्य श्री के सम्पन्न व श्री धर्मनन्द श्री के सम्पन्न भूय। —बालाराम शर्मा (वर्गी) अकठोपानमपुर आर्य प्र सभा में दो प्रस्ताव पास कर सरकार द्वारा आर्यसमाज मंदिर को श्री ए की स्थल काहिस्ता आनकर वाली कराने के प्रस्ताव का विरोध किया और विरोधी प्रस्ताव में छोटा नामपुर आ प्र सभा के गठन के बारे में आर्य समुदाय को बस्तुस्थिति से अवगत कराने और निरन्तर आर्यसमाज का प्रचार करने का सकल्प लिया। —बालाराम शर्मा (वर्गी)

## आर्य समाज अजमेर द्वारा प्रकाशित कालिका

### श्री० प्रसाधन आर्य द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकें

1. वेद, बर्त और हिन्दु समाज की आर्य कथाय की वेद-कृत्य ० 30 रु
2. इमारी रज्जुका का आधार - मूल्य १ 00
3. आचार्य कालिका - मूल्य ० 50 रु
4. श्री आर्य समाज हिन्दु विचारदृष्टिपुस्तक (अवली) - लिखित रितापदी रु ७ 75 00
5. आर्य समाज हिन्दु धर्म का सज्जन नहीं II मूल्य - 50 रु

1. आर्य समाज (हिन्दी) मूल्य रु 16 00  
— वे. आर्य समाजसभा

2. सर्व मित्रा (बाप 1 से 11 तक) - नूरे सैद का मूल्य ३ 20 00
3. दयानन्द कथा संहार - मूल्य ३ 00
4. परिचय विविधिका (काल वेद-विषय की आर्य मित्राल संस्थाओं का परिचय) - मूल्य १ 20 00

## सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश ग्रंथ माला-18 भाग

[ प्रत्येक समुल्यास पर स्वतन्त्र टुकट ]

1. ईश्वर मूल नाम अनेक
2. आर्य की वाता मित्रा
3. मित्रा और परिचय मित्रा
4. ईश्वरनाम का मूल्य
5. ईश्वरी कीम और बड़े होते हैं
6. ईश्वर अनेकनाम
7. ईश्वर और वेद
8. ईश्वर की उत्पत्ति
9. सर्व और मरक कहें हैं ?
10. श्री के मूल में आर्य नहीं हैं
11. हिन्दु धर्म की निर्दिष्टता
12. ईश्वर और ईश्वर का
13. वेद और ईश्वर के मत
14. ईश्वर और ईश्वर धर्म
15. ईश्वर का धर्म सत्य प्रकाश

लिखित - वर्गी टुकट आर्य समाज के चोटों के विचारों के द्वारा लिखित एक सम्पन्न का सम्पन्न आर्य समाज अजमेर के समाज की स्थापना है। आर्य समाज के पूर्व ईश्वर का मूल्य 8/- रुपये है।

श्री रतनसाज धर्म से आर्य मित्रा, अजमेर से मुद्रित कारक प्रकाशक

रासाहिह है आर्यसमाज धर्म, ईश्वरनाम, अजमेर से प्रकाशित किया।

वेदोर्मिलोत्सवमुलम्

वेद ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है ।

सत्य को ग्रहण करने और प्रसारण के  
क्षेत्रों में सर्वदा उत्तम रहना चाहिए

—बह्मिन् ध्यानम्

दयानन्दाश्रम : 162

मुद्रित सम्पत् 1972949087

। ओ३म् ।

# आर्य पुनर्गन्धर्व

पाणिन पत्र

अध्यक्ष

“आर्य हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म ।  
ओ३म् हमारा वेद है, सत्य हमारा कर्म ॥”

कृष्णस्तोत्रविश्वामर्यम्

सकल जगत् को आर्य बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :

समाज की वर्तमान एवं  
भविष्य में पैदा होने वाली  
समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत  
रखते हुए आर्यसमाज का  
पुनर्गठन करना है ।

नवंबर 3 बुधवार 15 अक्टूबर, 1987

अंक 16 प स -43338/84 II

अथर्व मित्रादयश्च जमिनादयश्च ज्ञातादयश्च परोक्षात् ।

अथर्व नक्तमथर्व दिवा न सर्वां प्राप्ता मम मित्रं भवन्तु ॥

कार्तिक कृ 8 सप्तत 2044

वार्षिक मू 15/- एक प्रति 60 पैसे

## अजमेर आर्यसमाज द्वारा सती कांड की कड़ी भर्त्सना

अजमेर 5 अक्टूबर । आर्य  
समाज अजमेर की रक्षितार की हुई  
एक सभा में प्रधान आचार्य वृत्तावेष्ट  
आर्य ने रूप कबर सती काण्ड की  
कड़ी भर्त्सना करते हुए इसे भारतीय  
नारी समाज के लिए एक कलक  
तथा समस्त विश्व में भारत की  
प्रतिष्ठा को क्षतिग्रस्त करने वाला  
आचरणवीर्य कृत्य बताया ।

सभा में भारत एक प्रस्ताव में  
इन वक्ताओं ने राजस्थान सरकार  
द्वारा जारी किए गए सकाराई प्रस्ताव  
वेब का स्वागत किया । परन्तु रूप  
कबर के सती होने के पूर्व पश्चात्  
प्रसारणिक महीनरी द्वारा बरती गई  
उपेक्षा एक सकाराई के विपक्ष कदा

रोष की प्रकट किया । सभा में राज्य  
सरकार से इस काण्ड में निष्पत्ती की  
व्यक्तिता के विपक्ष कदी कार्यवाई  
करने तथा सती रीति न करने देने

### आर्यसमाज शंकराचार्य की सती प्रथा पर शास्त्रार्थ की चुनौती दे

अजमेर 5 अक्टूबर । अजमेर  
आर्य समाज क भवन में आयोजित  
आर्य सज्जनों की एक सभा में  
साक्षात्कार करते हुए आचार्य वृत्तावेष्ट  
की भाष में आर्य समाज की शिरोमणि  
सभा सावधैषिक आर्य प्रतिनिधि  
सभा की पुरी के गुरुदासाय स्वामी  
निराजनदेव को उनके सती प्रथा के

का की शत्रुपक्ष किया गया । सभा में  
इस बात पर बिना प्रश्न की गई कि  
बाल विवाह छुड़ाएँ वहन प्रथा  
मृत्यु होम तथा सती प्रथा जैसी

वेदानुसृत होने के दावे को धन्यत्व निद  
करते हेतु साक्षात्कार की चुनौती देने का  
सुझाव दिया ।

आचार्य जी के मत में उक्त  
साक्षात्कार जयपुर या दिल्ली में होना  
चाहिए ताकि सम्पत्तिगत राज्य  
राजस्थान की जनता इससे विशेष रूप  
से साक्षात्कारित हो सके

मासाधिक कुम्भपाथो एवं बुद्धाया के  
विपक्ष पक्ष में ही कावून बने होने  
के बावजूद भी सरकार द्वारा समय  
पर कार्यरत कारवाई नहीं की जाती  
है विमते इन साक्षात्कार कुम्भपाथो  
की प्रोत्साहन मिलना है । एक धन्य  
प्रस्ताव द्वारा पुरी के जयदेव  
गुरुदासाय निरनन्दन नीध द्वारा  
सती प्रथा का समर्थन करने पर रोष  
व्यक्त किया गया ।

### आर्यसमाज राज्नी का प्रस्ताव

आर्य समाज राज्नी न 27 मिनट  
को मंत्र मन्त्रित से एक प्रस्ताव पारित  
किया है । जिसमें रूपकबर मने कांड  
की कड़ी निन्दा करते हुए सती प्रथा  
को एक बरत एवं धर्माव्यतिक्रम प्रथा  
बताया गया है ।

### जोगी का भेद नहीं पाया



स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती

रोम रोम का बना कम्पाउ । फूट पड़ी धनूत की बाण ॥  
एक बंध में भास्विक मुनि का । सारा मोह बहाया ॥  
बार बार भर जीवन पाई । बार बार बलिदान चढाई ॥  
अहं तो भी मुझसे तेरा । जाने नहीं चुकाया ॥

—गुरुदेव विद्यालङ्कार

### भारालोक की अभिव्यक्ति

मातु की ममता बिलबत्ती छोरकर तुम भाग कर निकले ।  
बाँटे सेंसार को अपना, सहज शत्रुताय निकले ।  
बार लौनों का समर्पण, विश्व को क्या दान देगा ?  
या किसे मालूम, जैसी तुम वधकती भाग निकले ।

रात के उस जागरण की, अर्चनायें हैं न थोड़ी ।  
प्रोत लाने की तुम्हारी साधनाय है न थोड़ी ।  
भार की तरायाइयो पर विश्व की भाव चकित है—  
यामिनी में रोशनी की रश्मियां तुम्हने निचोड़ी ।

तम किया है क्षार जिनमें, वह फिरन की ज्योति लाने,  
विश्व को पीयूष बाटा पर गरल के छूट पाये,  
ही किसी में दृष्टि जो, व्यक्तित्व की वह दीप्ति देखे ।  
किस तरह से तुम सुबह के सूर्य बनकर मुस्कुराये ।

आग को ऐसा सहेजा, क्षान्ति फूँकी भी निरासी ।  
वेद की जलती ज्वाला से जिनकी तुम्हने जला ली ।  
साधना भारालोक की अभिव्यक्तियों में खव हुई यो—  
तुम जैसे तो मोर जाया, तुम बुझे तो भी दिवाली ।

—साखनसिंह भटोरिया 'सौमित्र'

निवेष्टक : वृत्तावेष्ट आर्य

प्रधान संपादक

रासासिंह

संपादक : कीरेन्द्र कुमार आर्य

कार्या : 21010



## —: महर्षि दयानन्द का महत्त्व —:

—प्रसिद्ध ग्रंथ के लेखक रोष्णां रोष्नां—

श्रद्धा दयानन्द ने भारत के उक्ति दूध्य शरीर मे अपनी दुर्घर्ष संतति प्रविष्टता तथा सिंह प्रारम्भ पूरक दिये हैं।

स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती उत्कृष्टतम व्यक्तित्व के पुरुष थे। यह पुरुष सिंह उन मे से एक था जिन्हें यूरोपीय प्रायः उस समय बुला देता है। जबकि वह भारत के सम्मान मे अपनी धारणा बनाता है किन्तु एक दिन यूरोपीय को अपनी भूल मानकर उसे याद करने के लिए बाधित होना पड़ेगा, क्योंकि उसके अन्तर कर्मयोगी, विचारक और नेता की उपयुक्त प्रविष्टा का दुर्लभ सम्मिश्रण था।

दयानन्द ने अस्तुभ्यता वा अस्तुतपन के अन्वय को सहज नहीं किया और उससे अधिक उनके अस्तुत प्रधिकारी का उत्साही समर्थक दूसरा कोई नहीं हुआ। भारत में किसी की ओपनीय दशा को सुधारने में वो दयानन्द ने बड़ी उत्साहशीलता और साहस से काम लिया। दयानन्द ने राष्ट्रीय भावना और जन-जागृति के विचार का क्रियात्मक रूप देने में सबसे अधिक प्रबल व्यक्ति उसी की बी। बहुनिर्माही और राष्ट्र सगठन के अत्यन्त उत्साही पैगम्बरों मे से था।

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## सम्पादकीय

श्यामी दीपलक्षी अक्टूबर 22 अक्टूबर 1987 ई. को सत्यतत्त्व विभव मे धायनमात्र के प्रवक्त तथा स्वराज्य स्वाम्या स्वदेशी, स्वसंस्कृति के प्रथम सन्नाता मुमुक्षु महर्षि दयानन्द सरस्वती का 104 वा निर्वाण दिवस सत्य सन्नातक दुःख भाषोक्ति होना। 30 अक्टूबर 1883 ई. को धर्मरत्न स्थित निवास कठो मे धयानन्द की रात्रि के आरम्भ होने पर जब बीपभाषिका पत्र के दीपक जलमा उठ मे उठी सत्य प्रकाश का अस्तुत पुनः वह महामानव भाषी मर का जाप करते हुए हे ईश्वर तेरी इच्छा पूरा हो कहते हुए परलोक भासी हुमा था।

श्राव महर्षि भौतिक शरीर से इस सत्ता मे जीवित नहीं है परन्तु उनका स्वरूपी शरीर सर्वेध धारण रहेगा। इसमे कोई अतिस्वीय नहीं कि जब तक मनुष्य चाव रहता दयानन्द तेरा नाम रहेगा।

राष्ट्र की सत्यता विषय परिस्थिति मे जबकि एक ओर सती प्रथा छुपाछन बाल विवाह वहेन आद्य विषयमा धार्मिक सामाजिक दुरादमी दून स्थित उठा रही है दूसरी ओर सामाज्य प्रायोगिकतावाद जातिवाद मर्यादावाद धार्मिक के नाम पर सब मे धनमावेदादी कठो दूसरी राष्ट्रीयता का नाठ मूकता रही है मर्या उभवाद एक भातकभाव की भावी का बयबर

## सामाजिक चेतना

विगत 4 सितम्बर 87 ई. को राजधानी के लोक जिते के दिवसारा गाँव मे कम्पनर नामक महिला का सतीकायन को सतीकायन हुआ और उनके बाद सारे देश मे पत्र-पत्रिकाओं मे जो स्तम्भ पत्र और निबन्ध मे माहौल बन और उसके बाद राजस्थान सरकार को भी अतिथि म सती प्रथा निज हनु कठोर धम्यावेन साधु कला पडा। यहचि सरकार के उदाय मर कानो तथा धम्यावेन कानन को धम्यहना रही होइ विमने जनसाधारण पर स्वल्प प्रभाव नहीं पडा।

देश मे सतीकाय निरोध कानून तथा इसी प्रकार के धन-मायाजिक कुटीरिनों बाल-विवाह वहेन मूल्य भीन छपा-मुन महिला समान धार्मिक सत्ता कानून तो पहले से ही बने हुए है परन्तु उन को कानून से ही यदि समान मुखा हो आना तो भारत मे धाव ऐनी सामाजिक बयबरह स्थिति के दिवस नहीं खनन पड़ेगी और महर्षि दयानन्द जैसे महान समाय मेरी को जीवन मे 18 शताब्दी के प्याले होइ वही पक्ष तथा मन अ करने प्राणो की प्राप्ति नहीं देनी पवती। केवल सरकार और और कानून कुछ भी प्रयासी नहीं हो सकते जब तक कि जनसाधारण मे सत्तालत सामाजिक

कोरो पर बल रहा है किसी महिला की देश की लीमको पर अधिक होकर हमारे अस्तित्व को धायन सत्यता चाहती है और श्रद्धा दाय सत्तापति धार्मिकमात्र की कानिकारी सगठन की धायनमा धार प्रयाद का निकार होकर सत्ताका को पुन बंटा है ऐसे समय उस महान श्रद्धा का स्मरण सबह ही हो जाता है। श्रद्धा मे धाय माया धार्मिक मर और धायनित के रूप मे जिस राष्ट्रीयता की अनुमति की थी तथा राष्ट्र के स्वाधियान को जावर करने के लिए वेदो का धावर लेकर विन श्रद्धा मे स इनात पू का धा मर मनाम और राष्ट्र मे मयम श्रद्धा नाने हेतु तथा अल्पता विदानी न संसिकता के ह्याव को रोकने हेतु उसी श्रद्धा के विमुक्त को पुन निर्यात कला होना।

श्रद्धा के हय पर सामाजिक धार्मिक राष्ट्रीय सत्ताधिक मानवीय श्रद्धा के बहुत रहमान हैं। परमात्मा, हेतु श्रद्धा के जल बुकाने की सामन्य प्रवक्त करने विमने हन मयमे धाय बनकर महर्षि दयानन्द और धाय सनाज के सगठ को जन-जन एक पडुवा सके। यही हमारी श्रद्धा की प्रायोगिक सदावर्ति होनी।

—रासाहि

## की आवश्यकता

बैनाता उरानन हो तथा इस स सतिव कुटीरिने के प्रति निरकारा उरेशा तथा होना के भाव पैदा न हो तथा डके की चीज करने प्राणो की प्राप्ति देकर भी और मरक विरोध महान कट्ट पर कूक सताया देखने बालि क निकारी धाये नहीं बाने सब सनाज की सही सलने पर सनाज अस्थल कठिन है। और नि-दामक भाषणो धम्या विरोध प्रस्ताव पारित करते मात्र से ही इन सामाजिक दुरादमा का मुनाश्चैन नहीं होना।

वेद के साथ कहना पवना है कि को की राजनीति मे सनाज की दुरादयो को पनगने मे सहरी हो प्रदान किया है। सभी सलने यह मोचने है कि हमारे द्वारा धायनोवा करने धयमा सही बात कहने पर हमने कोई मायाव हा जायेगा धयमा अनवत हमारे विचारक हो जायेगा।

कात। धाय सनाज तथा धाय सनाज सेवी सगठन भिन्नारी भावना से सतिव होकर इन सामाजिक कुटीरिनों के उन्मूलन मे प्रयत्नशील हो।

अत मे बैना कठो है कहती है — कबीर बडा बाइर मे लिये गुनगा हाव सब पर जावो तासका पने हमारे साथ ॥

—रासाहि

## भारत में ज्वाति धव्यस्था और डा. अम्बेडकर

डा भीमराव अम्बेडकर एक विद्वान विचारक मे यह स्वीकार करने मे हने को प्रयास नहीं करना चाहिए। यद्यपि किसी विचारक के किन्हीं विचारों के द्वारा असमर्थता हो सकती है। परन्तु हमना तो धयन है कि उनके विचार तभी पर आधारित और सौचित्यपूर्ण हो होते ही हैं।

डा अम्बेडकर मे भारत मे प्रचलित अतिवाद (जाति व्यवस्था) पर बड़ी गम्भीरता स किन्तु किता था। इस मयमे मे ज्वाति धावके निम्न विचार विशेष रूप मे उल्लेखनीय है

मुझ यह समय राव है जब राजनीति मे सचि रखने वाले भारतीय लोग भारत के लोग गठने पर लोभी धायन किता करने थे, और हम के सवाप पर भारतीय गठने के नाक से सम्बन्धित फिर जाने पर बन देते थे। मर मत के अनुसार यह कहना कि हम एक राष्ट्र है प्राति के अतिरिक्त कुछ भी है। हमारा जातिमा मे विभक्त सनाज एक राष्ट्र कीसे हो सकता है? किसी स्त्रीकी हम यह स्वीकार करते कि हम सामाजिक व मनोवैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण स बड़ी एक राष्ट्र है उसका ही हमारे श्रित म होता। क्याकि हमका धायन होना पर ही हम एक राष्ट्र के रूप मे उभर सकते हैं।

और तभी इस उद्देश्य को प्राप्ति हेतु निम्न व प्रयत्न कर सकते हैं। इस उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति हेतु हमें बहुत राष्ट्र धरोहरा की प्रशंसा अधिक परियम करना होगा क्योंकि यहाँ का सनाज छोटी 2 जातिनो मे विभक्त नहीं है जब कि मर के लोग जातिवों मे विभक्त हैं। यह व्यवस्था राष्ट्रीयता की भावना के प्रतिवृत्त है। यह जातीय भावना भारतीय सामाजिक जीवन मे असमाज की भावना को बल प्रदान करती है सनाज का यह भावा जातीय समूहों के बीच ईर्ष्या व मनुष्य की भावना की जन्य देता है। इन सब कठिनाइयों का वजन करने के लिए हमें सत्य परियम करना होगा। यदि हम सच्चे सचों मे एक राष्ट्र के रूप मे सनाज मे धयने लिए स्वान बनाना चाहते हैं। केवल एक राष्ट्र मे ही धार्मिकों की भावना की कल्पना की जा सकती है उसकी धनुषस्थिति मे नहीं। प्रायतः समानता एक स्वयम्भवा के धायन मे एक राष्ट्र की कल्पना करनी बहुत पर की रही की पल के समान विभव होना।

देश के सभी प्रमुख कानो को डा अम्बेडकर के उक्त विचारों पर गम्भीरता से धनन करना चाहिए।

—वीरका शर्मा



मित्र गहोदर,

## ऋषि दयानन्द क्या चाहते थे ?

— शितीला बेवालकार —

आपका मन मिला । आप चाहते हैं कि ऋषि दयानन्द क्या चाहते थे—इस विषय में मैं अपने विचार लिखूँ । अपने जिस सरलता से यह प्रश्न कर दिया है, मुझे उसका उत्तर उठाना ही दुष्कृत लगता है । अतुल्य मेरे मन में तो यह भी छाता है कि यदि आपने सही प्रश्न सवाला ऋषि-दयानन्द से किया होता तो क्याचित् ने भी दुर्लभ उत्तर देने से पहले कुछ देर सोच में पड़ जाते । चाहता हो मन का विषय है । किन्तु ऐसे सोच हैं जो स्वयं आपने मन का विश्लेषण कर सकते हैं । ऋषि दयानन्द जैसे वैयक्तिक ब्रह्म पर सोचने के परम्परा इस प्रश्न का उत्तर दे ही देते, इससे बनेहूँ नहीं, परन्तु जो भी चिन्तन व्यक्ति किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के मन की समझ नहीं, परन्तु आपका प्रश्न कर सके, यह अत्यन्त दुष्कर काम है । सोचिया के लिए ही यह दुष्कर हो सकता है ।

ऋषि दयानन्द क्या चाहते थे—सका यथार्थ उत्तर तो बही दे सकते थे । परन्तु उनका जीवन चरित्र पहले से तथा उनके द्वारा रचित ग्रन्थों का पारायण करने से उनकी चाहता के सम्बन्ध में मेरे मन में जो धारणा बनी है, उसका सदैव ही अवश्य कर सकता हूँ । आपद आप के पत्र का प्रयोजन भी यही है ।

ऋषि दयानन्द क्या चाहते थे—इस प्रश्न का एक संक्षिप्त उत्तर जो अत्यन्त आर्यसमाजी के मन में सदा स्फुरित होगा, यह हो सकता है 'कृष्णतो विष्वक्मार्गम्'—अर्थात् सारे ससार को भाग बनाओ, यही चाहता ऋषि के मन में थी । कुछ आर्य साधक यह कहना पसन्द करें कि मुझ विज्ञानानन्द ने दीक्षात के समय ब्रह्मपारी दयानन्द को वैदिक धर्म के प्रचार का जो उपदेश और धारणा दिया था, उसी को पूरा करना ऋषि दयानन्द के मन की कामना थी । परन्तु यह उत्तर तो प्रश्न को आध्यात्मिकता से अधिक सरल कर देता है ।

मेरे मन को चिन्तित करने से एक प्रश्न सवालात कुरखता रहा है—और यह वह कि क्या व्यक्ति के बिना सम्यक् की कोई सत्ता है ? क्या इकाई के बिना कभी इकाई की कल्पना की जा सकती है ? क्या घर के अभाव में बाहर का कोई मूल्य है ? क्या व्यक्ति से सुधार किए बिना समाज में सुधार सम्भव है ? इसलिए सारे विश्व को सुधारने का ठेका देने के बजाय व्यक्ति को ही सुधारने की बात कही जाए तो व्यवहारिकता की दृष्टि से क्याचित् अधिक सही-सही हो ।

परन्तु इस बुनियादी बात से भी मेरे मन को सन्तोष नहीं होता । मुझे लगता है कि ऋषि दयानन्द व्यक्ति की केवल व्यक्तिगत जीवन की परिधि तक ही सीमित नहीं रहना चाहते थे । व्यक्ति समाज का अविच्छिन्न अंग है और समाज राष्ट्र का अविच्छिन्न अंग है । व्यक्ति, समाज और राष्ट्र तीनों आध्यात्मिक हैं और इनको धर्मन-धर्मन करने देवना इति की प्रवृत्ति का परिणाम है । 'धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः' के धर्मो रक्षति रक्षित का वाक्य है तो समाज अर्थात् ऐसे जन समूह का वाक्य है जो राष्ट्र का अविच्छिन्न अंग है । ऋषि दयानन्द के मन में व्यक्ति, समाज और राष्ट्र में तीनों का एक साथ उपनिबन्ध रहे है, साथ घर को भी धर्मन ही हुए, मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है । अपनी इस धारणा के सम्बन्ध में मेरा विवेचन निम्न प्रकार है —

ऋषि दयानन्द ने इस देश को आर्यावर्त के नाम से परिचित किया, है और देश के सुचारुचक्र को आर्य धर्म से सम्बोधित किया है । निस्सन्देह आर्य धर्म मुसलमानों है । इससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि ऋषि भारत के प्रत्येक समाज को आर्य धर्म के अन्तर्गत आना चाहते थे । आर्यावर्त के निवासियों का दर्ज उन्होंने वैदिक धर्म बताया और भाषा आर्य भाषा (अर्थात् हिन्दी, उर्दू नहीं) साथ ही अपने द्वारा रक्त सत्याग्रहप्रकाश के माध्यम से उन्होंने महाभारत काशीन महापुरुष मुनिष्ठित से लेकर दिल्ली के राजा धनपल तक की पीढियों का उल्लेख करते आर्य

राजाओं की बहालिव भी दी है । इस प्रकार जब मैं आर्य राजाओं की बहालिव, आर्यावर्त का नाम आर्यावर्त धर्म का नाम वैदिक धर्म भाषा का नाम आर्यभाषा और नागरिकों का आर्य नाम से सम्बोधन देखा हूँ, तब मेरे मन में इस बात के लिए सन्देह नहीं रहता कि वे एक देश एक धर्म, एक भाषा और एक जाति से प्रसारी थे । आर्य राजाओं की बहालिव देने का तात्पर्य इसके विनाश और कुछ नहीं है कि वे इन देश में एक वैदिक धर्मव्यवस्था आर्य राजाओं का राज्य देवना चाहते थे । इस देश की पराधीनता से किसी मानसिक देवना ऋषिदयानन्द को होनी थी इसकी कल्पना हम सत्याग्रहप्रकाश में स्थान-स्थान पर विचार्य देश के प्राथमिक के अर्थात् निरक्षरों से ही जान सकते हैं । परन्तु स्वराज्य-प्राप्ति मात्र से ही वे समुद्र हो जाने लगे थे । स्वराज्य के साथ समुद्र की उनका प्रेम था । इस समुद्र के सु को चरितार्थ करने की लिए ही तो नागरिकों का आर्य (बेद) बनाने की उन्होंने प्रेरणा दी ।

जब ऋषि के इन विचारों की ओर ध्यान दिया जाता है तब मुझे लगता है कि 'कृष्णतो विष्वक्मार्गम्' के अन्तर्गत पहले आर्यावर्त हो ही उसके अपने मत स्वयं से प्रतिष्ठित करना उनका तात्त्विक उद्देश्य था और आर्यावर्त में आर्यों का राज्य स्वायत्त करने के पश्चात् मनुष्य और ब्रह्मण्य आर्यावर्त के माध्यम से वे ससार में आर्यों के चक्रेनी लाक्षण्य या कृष्णतो विष्वक्मार्गम् के अन्तर्गत आर्यों की प्रतिष्ठित करना चाहते थे । बिना अव्यक्ति के वे अन्तर्गत का नारा लगाना उचित नहीं मानते थे, क्योंकि इकाई के बिना इकाई को प्राप्त करना व्यवहारिकता नहीं है ।

आपद मेरे इस विश्लेषण को कुछ लोग अनेकों के Chaumvism (उप राष्ट्रवाद) धर्म से, जिसे धर्मन की रजनीतिक धर्मन के राज-विचार का माननी की तरह प्रयुक्त किया करते हैं धर्मन के परन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि ऋषि दयानन्द के व्यक्तिगत कार्य-कला इसी उप राष्ट्रवाद की मानना से अभिन्न था । यदि स्वयं आर्यावर्त के अन्तर्गत ही ऋषि के व्यक्तिगत में से इस उप राष्ट्रवाद को निकाल दें जैसा कि अन्तर्गत धर्मन विष्वक्मार्ग और धर्मनसमाजी आर्यसमाजी नेता किया करते हैं, तो मुझे लगता है कि ऋषि की मानसिक मानना का यह व्यवहारिक और अपूर्व आकलन होगा । ऐसा कह कर मैं ऋषि के व्यक्तिगत को संक्षिप्त नहीं करता चाहता, किन्तु उसे यथार्थ की प्रतिष्ठित पर स्थापित करना चाहता हूँ ।

परन्तु सम्पादक की मुक्ति क्या चाहते थे—यह प्रश्न तो अब सवा-सीता हो गया । धर्म तो आप मुझे से यह प्रश्न कि आर्यसमाजी क्या चाहते हैं या वेदवर्गी क्या चाहते हैं ? आज के अन्तर्गत परामर्श पदोन्मुख परस्पर पक्षों उद्घाटन में पड़ सदा सपर्यन्त आर्यसमाजी को इस बात को क्या बिना है कि ऋषि क्या चाहते थे ? या पहले अनेकों के दात और धर्म अर्थों की के दात भारतवासियों को इस बात की क्या पत्र है कि ऋषि का स्थान क्या था या ऋषिों की इस प्रवृत्ति का क्या होगा ? राष्ट्र जाय धर्म म जबको धर्मन स्वयं स प्रयोजन है ।

और सम्पादक की सच कहूँ—जिस महापुरुष के गीत मान लोग नहीं करते और जिसकी चरणरत्न तक का स्थान करने धर्म के स्थान में धर्म महतो महान् राष्ट्रीय नेतापण धर्म की राष्ट्रीयता के मन से प्रतिष्ठित हो सकते हैं—यह ऋषि दयानन्द यदि धर्म की स्थिति में पुन भारत में जा जायें तो उन्हें स्वयं भारत सरकार के किसी भी विचार में छोटे से छोटे कलक तक की नौकरी नहीं लगनेगी, क्योंकि उन्हें अर्थों की नहीं जाती थी । इसलिए यह मत पुष्टि कि ऋषि क्या चाहते थे या हमारे राष्ट्रीय स्थापना का सत्ता क्या है ? हमने केवल यह प्रवृत्ति कि हम क्या चाहते हैं ? हमें म ऋषि से प्रयोजन है, न ही राष्ट्र से, हम केवल अपने व्यक्तिगत स्वायत्त से प्रयोजन है ।



## निम्न श्रुति श्रुति

(चित्र पृष्ठ 4 का)

इस पृष्ठभूमि के प्रकाश में ही उस महान् व्यक्ति का उल्लासपूर्ण स्वागत होने का कारण सर्वज्ञता के लम्बक में झाँकना है कि वह वेदों का उग्र प्रचारक एवं भक्त श्रद्धा महर्षि या महान् ध्यातु बाति के महर्षियों की परम्परा का नव का धीरे धीरे भावना के साथ प्राचीन भारत के पवित्र ज्यों का आधार लेकर कार्यरत थे। श्रुतियों द्वारा वा। उसने प्रकटे भारत पर शासन करने वालों के विरुद्ध मोर्चा लगाया। (पृष्ठ 157) इसीलिए यह ऐतिहासिक तथ्य ही कि— दयानन्द की तेजस्वी धीरे प्रोष्ठ बिनाए उसके वैचारिकता की विचारधारा के अनुकूल ही और उन शिक्षाओं से भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता का सर्वप्रथम वागदण्ड हुआ। (पृ 153)

‘तब यह है कि भारत के लिए यह दिन एक युग प्रत्यक्ष दिन था जब एक शाहूरा ने न केवल यह स्वीकार किया कि उस वैदिकता पर अनुभवमान का अधिकार है किन्तु स्रोत-भावन उनके पुत्र कटुपुष्पी शाहूराओं ने निषिद्ध कर दिया था किन्तु इस बात पर भी बल दिया कि वेदों का पठना पढ़ाना और सुनना-सुनाना शास्त्रों का वरम धन है।’ (पृ 156)

इन उद्धरणों से यह स्पष्ट है कि—

बन्तुल भारतीय राष्ट्रीय चेतना के पुनर्जन और वागदण्ड थे जो इन समय (ईसवी सन 1930) उस (भारत) देश में अपने पुनर्जीवन से देख पड़ रही है। सबसे प्रबल प्रस्ताव दयानन्द से प्राप्त हुई थी। (पृष्ठ 165)

## भारतीय स्वराज्य के प्रथम सम्प्र-श्रद्धा—

## महर्षि दयानन्द सरस्वती

(81 में श्रुति निर्वाण विवसत पर दो गई अज्ञातजति)

— स्व प दीनदयाल की उपाध्याय

ब्रिजमाल 1914 के स्वातन्त्र्य सत्र में हजारी पराजय के बाद जब भारत की निम्न वक्ता बन्तुल भारत में प्रवेश रही थी हमारे राष्ट्र जीवन पर श्रुतिक से मर्यादित प्रहार हो रहे थे और हम भारतीयवस्तु और भारतीयमान हूँ हूँ निरीह भाव से अज्ञ प्रथम की कल्याणकार की माना तित दयानन्द सरस्वती नवजात जा रहे थे तब भारत के जीवन के आपूर्ति सब पृष्ठने वाले जो महापुरुष भारतीय हुए उनमें महर्षि दयानन्द का स्थान धर्म-गर्भ है। उनके पास राष्ट्र की दुरवस्था को देखकर दुःखित होने वाला सचे-दनशील हृदय था रोषों का सही निखल और उन्माद करने वाले चिकित्सक की दृष्टि की एक सुधारक की लयन और कमजोर तब दुर्गति से दूरने वाले एक सुधारक का साहस था और तबसे मजबूत यह ध्यात दृष्टि की जो विश्व के हृदय और मोहान्माकार को चीर कर सत्य का दर्शन कर सके। सत्य सेवा का सम्बल लेकर वे जीवनपर्यन्त पर बड़े। पराजो की क्षमिका और क्षमों की उपेक्षा विरक्तार और अश्लेषता कोई भी उनकी विचित्र नहीं कर पाया। भारत के पतित और विकृत जीवन को उन्होंने सजुजवन सुसं-कृत एवं सत्य श्रौतिक धर्मरसे के साथ जोड़ा सत्य तमाम से श्रुतियों से सन्ने तथा धरणा जीवन बन्ध बनाने की प्रस्ताव सेवा की।

धार्मिक क्षमि की प्राधारभूत मानकर उन्होंने प्रसूत उली लय में काय किया। किन्तु जीवन का ऐसा कोई लय नहीं जिसको सधना छोड़ा। स्वयं की और स्वराज्य का मान सर्वप्रथम उन्होंने ही दिया। जिनकी शक्तिमान राज-नीति है तथा जो पवित्र की राजनीतिक विचारधाराओं और परम्पराओं का अनुकरण ही भारत की नियति मानते हैं वे महर्षि को एकन्वीय क्षमता धार्मिक नेत्र मानकर उनकी मधुमेलेना कर देते हैं। उन्हें न तो भारत की भाषा का ज्ञान है और न ही महर्षि दयानन्द की मर्यादा का।

महर्षि दयानन्द का काय धर्मी पूरा नहीं हुआ। स्वराज्य के बाद तो हजारी अन्त्योष्ठ और बंद गया है। महर्षि ने इसे बताया था कि हम उलूक-बाहिनी की भूजा के स्थान पर उसे शासन मानकर महर्षि की उपासना करें। पर प्रभावशाली कार्यरति में जागृत्य भास्कर का निर्वाह हो गया। हम दीनदयाली न्यायकर क्षमकार से सन्ने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं। सत्य को छोड़कर

तो क्या श्रुति दयानन्द भारत राष्ट्र के ही उन्माद और जागृत्य नेता थे? उन्हें ऐसा समझना निश्चय से सब जातिता के मनमान उत्थान की वास्तविक पृष्ठभूमि को न मनमाना होगा।

(1) सब राष्ट्यों की उन्नति में ही प्रथमे राष्ट्र की उन्नति ममभना यह अन्तराष्ट्रीय शक्तिमान वृत्त के गवनीयिज्ञो की महर्षि दयानन्द की सब श्रम प्रमुख देत है।

(2) सबको अपने शारीरिक शक्तिमान व ध्यात्मिक हितको रो नियम म स्वतन्त्र और सामाजिक सहितकारा निम्न पात्रने में परस्पर धर्मात समष्टि के धार्मीन रहना चाहिये। इस प्रकार में ही व्यक्ति समष्टि का सम्बन्ध होना चाहिये यह विचार की महर्षि दयानन्द के विमान की ही उपज है।

(3) जाति रम मन मजहब न मन की दृष्टि से न कोई बसा है न कोई छोटा है। इतनीसे सबको समानता स्वतन्त्रता-प्राप्त पात्र का समान अधिकार मिलना चाहिये। यह राष्ट्र सबप्रथम महर्षि दयानन्द ने बताया।

हमने श्रुति दयानन्द की बहुत छोट छाप पर मोपा है। बहुतने उन श्रुतिवादी का रचयिता के रूप में देखा है। यह सुष को दीपक नवान जैन है। इस दीपवर्ति के पुष्पावध पर पुत्र पुत्र के रूप में श्रुति का स्मरण होना चाहिये। श्रवणावर म प्रकाश पौर के रूप में दिव्यत्व का साथ दिखाने वाले के रूप में उसका स्मरण होना चाहिये।

सभी की पूजा से लगे हैं। स्वराज्य में स्वयं चला गया। धार्मिक उन्नति की यात्राभा में दर दर दीप का कटोरा लेकर पूजा रहे हैं। विश्वी मुद्रा अज्ञान के लालच में भारत का जनता का धर्मप्रद एवं राष्ट्रप्रद बनें वाले महीही पुर्जाव्यों को ध धमन्यु देकर उनके आधारस्थि में धर्म को धाय पात्र रहे हैं। धास्वयक्षा है कि महर्षि का नव बोध फिर से भारतका न म नू जे। नवा ध्यात बन्तु महर्षि के सत्ये का लेकर बह हमने? तभी तो दीपवर्ति की धार्मिक विमम महर्षि का निर्वाण हुआ के सम्बन्ध म नव के प्रकाश का सत्य उत्तर मिल सकेगा—

इसे राष्ट्र को कि प्रथम त क?

दीपवर्ति हजारे तिते होकर समान्यतः रात्रि ही रहेगी प्रथमा नवम का नव सदेम और नव नैतय सानेवासी प्रतिपदा के प्रकाश की पूजावाहिका।

—प्रभुति श्रुता धार्या

## पत्र बोलेते हैं

## आर्यसमाज और पौराणिक घुसपैठिये

महोदय

ध्यात पुनर्गठन 30 सित 87 की प्रति मेरे सामने है। जैसे ही पृष्ठ ख है परन्तु यह सामग्री पठनीय नहीं। प्रत्येक एवं दृष्टान्तेवचन है। यह सत्य है कि कुछ पौराणिक घुसपैठिये बनकर ध्यात समाजों में प्रवेश कर चके हैं किन्तु का ध्यातव्य है कीर्तिक विमानों पर विश्वास नहीं है। इसीलिए मुद्रावातावरण नहीं बन पा रहा है। ध्यातने साधेयिक नमा के प्रस्ताव को पहले पृष्ठ पर छाप कर एवं नई जगति वेदा करने का प्रयास किया है। ध्यात साधुवाद के पात्र हैं।

और भी ब्रह्मभार ध्यात ने ठीक कहा कि पञ्जाब समस्ता सुधार की बार मजहूर है। और जो रे व भी रिबरो इस विमान में नव धर्मसे प्रयास कर रहे हैं। उधवाधियों के बातचीत नहीं की जाती चाहिये। जब तक साहील मान नहीं हो जाता नहीं तो राज्यपाल एवं पवित्र प्रमुख के अधिमान को तारपीनो का मागमा नव सफता है। सवाधन में ध्यातने पुराण पवित्रो को जड़े उखाड़ने का ठीक परामर्श दिया। यह अधिमान श्रुति की नवरी धमनेर से बले और राज्यपाल के अधिमानों व अधिविमानों को कमजोर से ताकि धर्मिय में एला काष्ठ दोहराना न जाय।

—बीर भान और

ध्यातमजाल सिलकनगर दिल्ली



देवीसिद्धिर्देवीपूजम्

देव ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है।

सत्य की वृक्ष करने और सत्य के  
स्रोतों से सर्वत्र उद्भात रहना चाहिए

—सत्य भवानम्

दशान्वार्यः 162

मूर्ति स्तम्भः 1972949087

वर्षः 3 बुधवार, 30 सप्टेंबर, 1987  
वक्रः 17 वं सं.-43338/84 II

भारत में और विश्वभर हिन्दुओं  
में मूर्तिपूजा उनके मध्यकालीन ह्रास  
की प्रतिरोधक शक्ति का व्यक्तिक है।  
इस धार्मिकता तथा उनके सामाजिक  
अभिव्यक्तियों से मूर्ति आराध्य में देव  
की मूर्त करने का भी प्रकट निष्पत्ति  
सह ही उनकी एक मंशा देव है।

पीठाधिकृत भुव में प्रारम्भ हुई  
मूर्तिपूजा और उनकी धर्मक क्षमताओं  
में हिन्दुओं और परित्यागस्वरूप भारत  
की विश्व धर्म के मार्ग पर सदा पिछा  
उसका इतिहास भी तभी के प्रारम्भ  
होया है। देवी देवताओं के मन्दिरों  
में न केवल मूर्तिपूजाक इलाक़ों के  
आक्रमणों की विविधता पिछा धर्मिक  
उत्पत्ति सम्प्रदाय अभिव्यक्तियों और  
आध्यात्मिक चमत्कारों में इन प्राचीन-  
ममकारियों की विषय की भी  
निरीक्षण कर दिया। मण्डप, काशी  
और वर में योगनाथ की मूल तथा-  
मन्त्रि चमत्कारी मूर्तियों के दृष्टि  
करने वाले चमत्कारी की मन्दिरों में  
हस्तित प्रसार एक दृष्टि से मन्त्रि-ही  
सम्भ में उनकी मुद्रा पर सह चमत्कारी  
की 33 करोड़ देवी-देवताओं के इस  
विशाल क्षेत्र पर उनकी एक राज्य  
करने का बरतान भी निम्ना। समस्त  
देवी के एक मात्र मिश्रण ईश्वर  
के लक्षणों आकार प्रतिस्पर्धी बनाकर  
उनकी समस्त ऊर्ध्व शक्ति मूर्तियों द्वारा  
ईश्वर का उद्घाटन करने का ही हमारे  
देवताधर्मों के सह और सह निम्ना  
और साथ ही करने इस सम्बन्ध प्रकट  
की मन्त्रिपूजा शक्ति करने के  
आक्रमणकारियों की राज्य की  
कर्मक्षेत्र का प्रसार भी प्रत्यक्ष होता।

काशी सत्यधर्म और मूर्तिपूजा

मूर्ति पञ्चमण्डल द्वारा मार्ग से  
112 वर्ष मूर्तिपूजा के यह कालों के  
निम्न तथा सामान्य धार्मिक चमत्कार के  
एक कर्म क्षेत्रमूर्त देवताधिकृत प्रकट  
है, मूर्तिपूजा के विरोध में उनके पूर्व

। शीघ्र ।

# आर्य पुनर्गठन

प्राथमिक पत्र

“जब हमारा नाम है, वेद हवासा कर्म।  
जोड़न हमारा देव है, सत्य हमारा कर्म।”

अथ मित्रादभयम् अमित्रादभय जातादभय परोक्षात् ।  
अथर्व नक्तमभय दिवा न सर्वा प्राया मम मित्र भवन्तु ॥

सत्यधर्ममार्गम्

सकल जगत् की धार्य बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्यः

सत्य की वर्तमान एवं  
अविष्ट में पैदा होने वाली  
समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत  
रखते हुए आत्मसत्या का  
पुनर्गठन करना है।

कार्तिक सु. 8 सप्त 2044  
प्राथमिक सू. 15/-, एक प्रति 60 पैसे

## मूर्ति पूजा का अभिज्ञाप

— आचार्य दत्तात्रेय धार्य —

भी कल्पे कुम्हारों और स्रोत में  
नामक उद्धार भी, किन्तु ‘म सत्य  
अस्मिन् अस्मिन्’ एक मन्त्राद्वारा प्रत्यक्ष  
के मूर्तिपूजा का निष्पत्ति निम्ना सदा है  
सत्यधर्म की सह चोपस्था काशी के  
कर्मक्षेत्रों के लिए चमत्कार देने वाली  
एक चमत्कारी की। इससे पूर्व किसी  
वैदिक विज्ञान में देव करने का  
काष्ठ नहीं किया का और न धार्य  
एक कोई देव का पवित्र देवों में  
मूर्तिपूजा निष्ठ कर सका है।

सर्वो द्वारा मूर्तिपूजा का विरोध

देवों का प्रमाण से मूर्तिपूजा के  
विरोध है कि किन्तु हमारे देव के प्राय  
समस्त ईश्वर चक्र स्रोत में भी उसका  
कमा विरोध किया है। कुछ नामक ने  
कहा का कि —

“को पत्नर की जाने देव।  
उसकी विरला जाने देव ॥”

यह कबीर की सह उक्ति प्रविष्ट है —

“अन्तर पुने हरि मिले  
तो मैं बुद्ध भूहाइ।  
पत्नर के पासी भलो  
कै पीस काय उछार ॥”

मन्त्राद्वारा के प्रसार देवों की  
आनेवर के प्रसार ईश्वर स्वयं  
कहते हैं कि —

“अथ अस्मिन् ही कर्म  
किंवादि देह धर्म”

अर्थात् कर्म से मुक्त ईश्वर की  
कर्म क्षमता और देह क्षमता ईश्वर को  
देह क्षमता बनाया कर्मों का काम है।  
और कुम्हारों को यहाँ तक कहते हैं  
कि —

“ज्वाला टाकिले फोखी,  
सम्बन्धा पुडे ह्रास फोखी  
ज्वाला फोख कूल चमत्कारि  
सत्ता देव मन्त्रादि ॥”

अर्थात् जिन मूर्तियों को हम  
टाकिले से लोककर बनाते हैं और  
जिन पत्नरों के ह्रास जोपस्था बनाते  
उन्हीं को ईश्वर मानकर कैसे पुजते  
हैं? विज्ञानी के कुछ सर्वत्र रामदास  
की कहते हैं —

“वायु वायवाय मृत्तिका  
पिच लेक कण्ठ देखा,  
तेरेवेव कंचा मूर्त  
प्राप्ति पवनी।

अर्थात् हे मूर्तों सोने पायी पत्नर  
सकनी और सिद्धी की मूर्तियों में या  
दीवार के बने चित्रों में ईश्वर देवता  
देरा प्रथम है। मूर्तिपूजा के समस्त  
कहते हैं कि मूर्ति के उपलब्ध उसे  
ईश्वर नहीं मानते केवल साधारण  
व्यक्तियों के लिए ईश्वर चक्र का  
साधन मार्ग समझते हैं इस उर्ध्व का  
भी हमें स्रोत में स्वयं बहने निम्ना  
किया है। कुछ रामदास कहते हैं कि —

“आत्मा लोहनि अनात्म्यास  
ज्वाली खट्टी, पट्टी  
बर्तिया ही बर्तना आत्मा  
देवी अस्मिन् सत्य, उन्नेनी  
कर्मक्षेत्रि ममा कासावीर कर्णी,  
मूर्तिपूजा कला साधनि  
ते मे एकत्र एक विले,  
धर्म स्रोते तेमि चले विमलम् ॥”

अर्थात् प्राथमिक ध्यान जोड़कर  
अथ समझने के ईश्वर का ध्यान

सम्भ नहीं है। मूर्ति द्वारा उसका  
ध्यान करने के प्रयत्न में हम जो नहीं  
हैं उसी को हमला में देखते हैं और  
इस प्रकार हमने मम को सटका कर  
कष्ट उठाते हैं। सत कुम्हारम इसे  
हमों का धार्मिकार कहते हैं उनके  
मन्त्राद्वारा —

‘समाधि देव पूर्वी नष्टते  
जन्मे प्रमान फासे वेम्हा  
हे प्रमान सत्ता मानिने।’

अर्थात् पहले देवों की पत्नर की  
मूर्तियाँ नहीं होती थी किन्तु अब  
ज्वाला में ज्वाला फंसा तब इन  
प्रमाणियों में पत्नर की काजना कुछ  
किया। नामक, कबीर ज्ञानेश्वर,  
कुम्हारम और रामदास प्रविष्ट भक्त  
सत में इसविषय इस विषय में उनके  
अनुमान और विचार निम्न महत्त्व  
के हैं। उनकी तुलना में मातासरस ही  
क्या बड़े से बड़े विज्ञानों के तर्कों की  
निर्णय है क्योंकि वे सत विज्ञान न  
होने पर भी ईश्वर चक्र के क्षेत्र में  
प्रविष्ट निम्नप्रथम है। ज्ञान की सत्य  
सत्ता में मूर्तिपूजा एक चमत्कारी  
प्रथा समझी जाती है जिसका सबसे  
सत्य विकृत और विलुप्त प्रचार  
भारत में ही है।

आत्मिक चमत्कार में प्रोटेस्टेंट  
ईसाई, मुसलमान और धार्य समझी  
जादि मूर्ति पूजा विरोधी धर्मों के  
अनुयायियों की सत्ता करोको से  
अधिक है। अथ यदि निम्ना मूर्ति के  
सम्पर्क में वे अनुसन्धक लोग ईश्वर  
की उपासना और ध्यान कर सकते  
हैं तो क्या हिन्दु धर्म के अनुयायी ही  
भौतिक और आध्यात्मिक स्रोत से  
इतने बटिया हैं कि उन्हें ईश्वर चक्र  
के मार्ग पर चमत्कारी लोभने के लिए  
छोटे बन्धनों के समान सकनी और  
कर्मक्षेत्र के इन देवों की आक्रमणकता  
है?

(सिध पृष्ठ 6 पर)

निवेदनः दत्तात्रेय धार्य

अथर्व संपादकः रासासिद्ध

संपादकः श्रीरक्ष कुम्हार धार्य

कार्यः 21010



# सामाजिक कुरीतियों के खिलाफ आर्थ समाज द्वारा नवीन अभियान की आवश्यकता

— स्वामी धर्मनिरास द्वारा सती प्रथा का विरोध —

सवाल सवाकथिन सती प्रथा को लेकर पूरे देश में एक बहस चल रही है इन पर आपकी क्या प्रतिक्रिया है ?

जवाब बहुत बर्बरता पर कड़ी बहस होती है। मैं साथ सजानी ० और आर्थसमाज की तो स्वापना ही सती प्रथा मान जिहाह नरनरि नुमाफूत और पाबड को समूह नष्ट करते के लिए हुई है। सती प्रथा न तो शास्त्रसम्मत है और न ही विवेकसम्मत। यह तो स्त्री पर पुरख प्रथान समाज के कारण उत्पन्न एक मध्ययुगीन विकृति है और भारतीय समाज व हिन्दू धर्म का कलक है।

मवाल लेकिन पूरी के सकरापाय स्वामी की निरजनदेव तीथ न तो इसे पूर्णतया शास्त्रसम्मत और वेदो के अनुकूल बताया है। इसके समर्थन में वह किसी तरह तक बचने को तैयार है।

जवाब मैंने भी निरजनदेव तीथ का अथान प्रबन्धनारो में पडा है और मुझे वेद है कि उन्होंने सकरापाय जैमी मल्लपूष व गरिमायुक्त गृही पर वैदिक के बावजूद ऐसा कलम दिया है कि पूरे हिन्दू धर्म का शिर त्रम से झक जायगा। एक तरफ तो हम यह बयान करते हैं कि हिन्दू धर्म सबसे ज्यादा तार्किक और मानवीय है दूसरी तरफ सती जैसी बबर प्रथा को प्रोत्साहन बताते हैं।

सवाल लेकिन उन्होंने तो चुनौती दी है कि कोई भी व्यक्ति उनसे मोक्षमण्डल (पूरी) में धाकर शास्त्राचर करे।

जवाब देखिए जब राजा राममोहन राय ने सती प्रथा के विरोध में धर्मिणन बताया का और तत्कालीन कायमराय ल ड बिबिध वैदिक ने सती प्रथा निरोधक अधिनियम पारित किया तब भी तत्कालीन प्रारतन-परिषदा परम्परापरिषदों और निरजनदेव तीथ जैसे धर्माचार्यों ने इसे हिन्दू धर्म में सम्मिलन बताया हुए विरोध किया। तब तब वैदिक ने उन धर्माचार्य से सती प्रथा के वैधानुसृत होने का प्रमाण माया। प्रमाण में न्यवेद का एक उदाहरण तोर-भोरक कर देय दिया गया। इस मंत्र में पति की मृत्तु के बाद पत्नी के लिए धर्मवश का प्रयोग है लेकिन वायमराय के मायन उसे धर्मन्यज करके दिखाया गया। इसके बाद सरकार ने मून पाठुनियमों में इस मंत्र को देखा और सती मयम को भी धरणी करे रद्द कर दिया। बाद में तत्मान तर्जुन-कुतर्जुन के बावजूद तत्कालीन पंडित वेदो में सती प्रथा का समर्थन नहीं सिद्ध कर सके।

सवाल लेकिन सकरापाय की शास्त्राचर की चुनौती ?

जवाब हम तो शास्त्राचर की परम्परा का सम्मान करते हैं। एही चुनौती की बात तो पूरे के सकरापाय की निरजनदेव को भी चुनौती है कि वह अपनी गुणा मोक्षमण्डल पीठ से निकल कर प्रबुद्धजनों के बीच में दिव्यी के रामलीला मैदान में धाकर शास्त्राचर करें।

सवाल मान लीजिए यदि सकरापाय ने सती प्रथा को वेदा में सिद्ध कर दिया ?

जवाब पहली बात तो वेदो में सती प्रथा का समर्थन सिद्ध ही नहीं किया जा सकता। दूसरा यदि एक जग के रूप में आपकी बात मान ली जें तो महाविद्वानगण का धनुष भी होने और धारममवाजी होने के बावजूद ऐसे वेद का बहिष्कार कर दु ग्रा जितने सती प्रथा का समर्थन किया गया है। हम वेदो को ब्रह्म मानते हैं लेकिन ब्रह्म स्वल्प मानवीय विषय मेरे लिए संपरिह है। वेद को भी मैं इसीलिए स्वीकारा हूं क्योंकि मेरे विवेक ने उसे स्वीकार किया है। मैं साथसमाज में धार्य विवेक के साथ साथ। इसलिए जो बाव देता विवेक स्वीकार नहीं करेगा उसे विवेकन गृही मानूंगा।

सवाल लेकिन कुछ लोगों का विवेक सती प्रथा को स्वीकारता ही तो ?

जवाब विवेक शान और तक का नमोटा के बाद ही माय्य होता है। वैज्ञानिक चेतना और तक से साथ मय्य का निबन्ध धर्यन धारमपाय क नामाजिक परिवर्तन और व स्वराजो क प्रमल्प इन जगा है। और यह जग ब्रह्मा का रूप व संता है। सती प्रथा नरनरि निगृह्णा छद्मासन धादि इसा शरीरों में घात है।

मवाल मयात्र में मारी की मित्रि नौ नकर शास्त्रा की क्या राय है ?

जवाब वैदिक माहित्य में मारी को मयात्र में पश्य के मयान ग्रां ध्यान है। शास्त्रो में मारी और मय्य की जेता विदुषी मलिनाध का ज्येष्ठ है। स्वयं स्वामी स्वानन्द ने जिहा है कि स्त्री का धर्म रमोदम का नाम करना नहीं है, बल्कि शाह्मन्ती को धर्मन्यज सिहाए और नामाजिक मारी में मय्यत रहना चाहिए। युद्ध-भूमी कीर निन्या रसमूमी में सतपति का भूमिका निभा सकती है जैसे दशरथ के माय कौंकई गई थी। यह तो मध्य युग में पुष्या में धरणी कच्छता स्वापित करत हुए स्त्री का दर्जा विग दिया और मध्ययुगीन पंडितों व धार्याओं ने स्त्री के लिए विद्यान व नियम बना कर उस पर न कौब कर दिया। मनुस्मृति ने तो एक कदम धार्य जावर स्त्री कच्छता की कलान्त करले हुए जिहा है कि यत्र नायम्यु पश्यते रमन तस्य देवता। लेकिन बाद में मनुस्मृति में भी तोर-भगाड करके स्त्रियों क विषय मूक निब दिए गए।

मवाल कुछ लोगों का तक है कि स्त्रेच्छ में सती होन न स्त्री की महिमा बढती है वह पश्यती ही जाती है। कि यह स्त्री पर अरथाचार म्यो जब तक जयदली न की जाए।

जवाब प्रयोज बात है। स्त्रेच्छ में कोई स्त्री सती नहीं होनी। यदि किसी मय्यत्र के धन्दर बचपन से यह भावना ठूरी जाए कि सती ही ना देवी बनता है उनके मायने सती परम्परागा हा बडा-बडा कर गुलगान किया जाए ऐसे में यदि ध्यालक वह स्त्री बिबहा हा जाए और पति बिवाय व एषाएष धार्यन व शाकर वह बिबाय के माहित जीवन की धरेषा प्रा मय्या करके देवी बनने की बात में हू से निगान है तब भी उसे समझा की बजाय उनही जय-जयकार होन सगे तो इस आप म्येच्छ की सडा दें ? यदि झरू से ही सती परम्परा की गौरवान्वित न किया जाए पति विवोय में विवेक से द्यय कोई स्त्री धार्यहूना का नियम भी करे तो जय-जयकार की बजाय उसे समझाया जाय व हिमन्त बडाई जाए उनके सामने भावी जीवनका धरपथ बिग बोधा जाए तो मेरा दावा है कि कोई भी सती नहीं हावी। एहा महिमा की बात तो भारतीय परम्परा में सत्पा सती सवित्री को माना है बिगन बिन्या जलने की बजाय पति का भी जिना लिया।

सवाल सकरापाय की निरजनदेव तीथ ने तो विद्याता समस्था का कारण राज राममोहन राय का पाप बताया है।

जवाब की निरजनदेव तीथ धारिार व होते क्या है ? क्या सिध्दा समस्था का एक मात्र हून पति के साथ क साथ स्त्री को साथ में भोक्त देता है। राजा राममोहन राय जैसे महान समाज सुधारक पर प्रत्येक भारतीय को मय है। उनके महान धर्मिणन को पाप की छडा देना सकरापाय की बोधा नहीं देना। स्वयं धादि सकरापाय ने पाबड के विरुद्ध एक न्यायक सुधार धर्मिणन बताया था। समय-मय पर सामाजिक व धार्मिक विहृ-नियो के बिहाक ऐसे धर्मिणनो की जरूरत पढती है। इन्हे पाप की मत्रा देना सतत है।

(नबभारन टाकम से साभा)



## कट्टरपंथ की गिरफ्त में निर्धन मुसलमान

इस्लामी पनरचना नयी भी मुख्य दलितों का आयोसन नहीं बना है। धर्म नेमा की भाति मुस्लिम देसो मे भी यरीज लाग छपनी ईर्न-इन रोओ-रोटा की फिक म रहते है। कट्टरपंथ उन मध्यम वर्गीय मुसलमानों द्वारा शुरू किया गया है जिनका धर्म में धार्मिक और पवित्री तीर तरीना से प्रभावित हुन है परन्तु लोकिक सुख या साम्यात्मिक पुनता पाने म असमर्थ होकर कुपित हो जाते हैं। यह कहना है किफात इस्लाम बिनेकत करेण इमियत हुनक का। हुन हो मे एमियन सल स्टट जनक मे छते उनके एक लख के सुख भावाय महा प्रलुप्त है —

हुनिया के प्राय मुस्लिम बहुत बेस भाज कट्टरपंथ की गिरफ्त म है। वे सार बेस बहुत ही धनुषलित महसुस करते है। इन देसो मे बहते कट्टरपंथ पर काबू पाने म दोनो महाभाकि स्वयं का अग्रस समक्ष रही है।

मुस्लिम देसो मे बहुत कट्टरपंथ का कारण मजहब और राजनीति के बीच के अंतर का पान समझि है। यह मीच इस्लाम की मूल प्रवाधारणा पर धारण है। मूल रूप स इस्लाम म किनी भी धर्मनिरपेक्ष नतुल्य को स्वीकार किया जाता है तथा मजहबी मुलमानों और धार्मिकतावादी को ही एक साथ राजनीतिक मामाजिक और धार्मिक मता मना जाता है।

इस्लाम के बाद दो फिके है—गिबा और सुन्नी। सुन्नीवा की अग्रणा गिबा इस्लाम कट्टरपंथी होत है। परन्तु दोनो हा मजहब और राजनीति के बीच किनी अंतर को स्वीकार नहीं करत है। हुनिया के सभी मुसलमानो मे 90 प्रतिशत सुन्नी है। ईरान को छोडकर किसी भी देस मे गिबा बहुमत म नहीं है।

ऐसे कई प्रयास हैं कि सभी इस्लामिक देसो मे गिबा वर्ग के लोग नुरी तरह प्रताडित किए जा रहें हैं। सभी इस्लामी देसो मे मध्य वर्ग के लोग ही कट्टरपंथी हैं जबकि गिबन वर्ग को बहुमत मे है। कट्टरपंथी के दस-दस से निकमकर धर्मनिरपेक्ष प्रजातंत्र मे मुसलक सास लेना बगुना है। मजहब की भाज मे इस्लामी देसो का मध्य वर्ग ही सत्ता पर हुनो है तथा उनके मजहब और राजनीति को इस हद तक गिना किता है कि महा न धर्मनिरपेक्षता है न प्रजातंत्र कुछ है वो यह है कट्टरपंथ की धर्मनिरपेक्षता।

इसका कारण हमे इस्लाम मे गिबता है जिसकी स्थापना 7वीं शताब्दी मे एक धरम व्यापारी मोहम्मद ने की थी। उसी मे मजहब और राजनीति को एक-दुसरे से पूरी तरह मिला देने की सुरक्षात की थी। उसने अपने मजहब का प्रचार मिफ भाषा मे मही किफत संघ्य बिबवो और सत्तारार के बन पर धर्म-परिवर्तन करके की किया।

दुसरी ओर इरानेगिबा जैसे कुछ ऐसे भी देस हैं जिनमे मजहब और राजनीति के बीच एक दूरी बना रखी है। यह कथन है कि कुछ लोग मुसलमानिता से जो रहे हैं। जबकि ईराक इराक उसमे धरम, मोरकको धार्मिक-स्थान टयुनिसिया बहुत धार्मिक देसो मे कट्टरपंथी के कारण महा की जनता माहिमाम कर रही है। ईरान के बाह्य और राष्ट्रपति धर्मनिरपेक्षता जैसे लोगों को इस्लामी कट्टरपंथी का बिरोध करने की भारी किफात महा करती पड़ी है। कट्टरपंथी मुसलमान सचय करने म इस्लामि की नही किफात है क्योंकि मजहबी मान्यताओं के अनुसार ऐसा सचय करने से उन्हें जनत का पाषणोट मिफ सफता है।

(गान्धिवर्य मे सारा)

## ऋषि कौन

— परिपूर्णमहर्षि —

बलिवुध मे निक एक व्यक्ति को महर्षि की उपाधि मिली स्त्रीमी दयानन्द मरवन्दी को इसलिए कि उ लोगे बेसा को एकदम नये रूप मे हिंदू समाज के सामने प्रस्तुत किया। निम्नु इसी युग मे उनमे पूब देवो का माध्य करने बाबे प्रादि सकाराचार को मा महर्षि नहो कहा गया है। स्वामि दयानन्द जी मे वन की व्याख्या अग्रभूतपूब रूप म आपत ऋष्यदादि भाव्य भूमिका मे हल प्रकाश की है।

जिसन सभी मनुष्य सत्य विद्या को जानते हैं सबका प्राप्त करते हैं सबका विचारते हैं सबका विद्वान होते हैं सबका सत्य विद्या को प्राप्ति के निरूप विनये प्रवर्त होत है उनको ऋष कहते हैं।

महाभारतक उपनिषद मे (2। 19। 22 वैदिक महाभाषाणु सब का उल्लेख है जिसके अनुसार ऋष भगो को कटक वन बाये या बिधि निर्धारक को ऋषि कहते हैं। इष्टि से भी स्वामी दयानन्द ऋषि हुए।

प्राच्यमी निम्न इतिहास ज्ञान के द्वारा जो मीच का प्रथम प्रस्ता हा मसार का धर्मन गीमा तक का ज्ञान रखता हो उसे ऋषि कहते हैं। गतको के अनुसार ऋषिमी की मात धर्मिणा है ब्रह्मादि देवोंकि महर्षि ऋषिणि श्रवणि तथा राजकि। भारत के अनुसार भास प्रादि महर्षि मे गेन धर्मि प्राप्ति ऋष्यवद त्यादि देवधि मे समिष्ट प्रादि ब्रह्मादि मे ईश्वरी प्रादि काण्यधि मे तथा ऋष्युध प्रादि राजकि म। बाद मे वैदिक माहिम म अनुसार वैदिक ऋषाको के मासाधार करत सार पठ्य तथा निम्ना भी ऋषि कह मये। ऋष्येक के अनुसार कुम प्रादि देव धर्मस्य कुमिक समिष्ट व्युत्थ प्रादि ऋषि है। बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद मे विश्वामित्र ऋषाज गौतम जमदग्नि कश्यप धमि को ऋषि निखा है। राजकि कोई नही है। अथर्ववेद न इस सूची मे अजिरा मयिष्ठ कलावज मचापिनि निमोर्क मुद्रुगन तथा उमता काव्य ओष विरा है। राजकि कोई नही है।

ऋष्युध राजा मे। ऋष्युध के बाद जनक सब साह ही राजकि म धाता है। प्राचीन भारत मे एक से एक महान मीच तथा धर्मप्रचारक राजा हो गये पर किसी को भी राजकि इसलिए नहीं कहा गया कि ने वेदक गच्छे मे। जनक के महा शासकत्वम ऋषि की उपदेश लेन गये मे। और उनके दरबार मे रत्न मे रूप मे रह गये मे। की सचसचयव गीता मे भी कृष्ण न ऋषियो मे धरणी कपित को कहा है जिनमे माया सबन की रचना की। व्यास को गता मे केवल मुनि कहा गया है। व्यास का ऋष है सम्प्रदाय। इसी निरूप गीता से लेकर पुराणो क सकन मयावद व्यास महलाये को वेद तथा ब्रह्मसूत्र के वेदव्यास से मिलन हैं। महाभारत मे युधिष्ठिर को राजन कहा है राजकि नहीं।

इधर बहुत सच पूब जब की पुष्कोत्तम राम टण्डन को राजकि की उपाधि प्रविष्ट सत्य तथा महत्ता देखकरा सारा ने भी उन की कामी मे पण्डितो मे प्राप्ति का भी। राजनीति शालो का यह उपाधि देने पर। किन्तु सत्य देखकरा सारा के धर्मिकार को चानीही कैने का साहस नहीं हुआ।

धर उमी कामी मयरी मे विद्वानो की सभा मे राजनीतिज्ञो की राजकि की उपाधि देना शक किया है तथा, कौन जाने यह महर्षि की उपाधि की बाटना शुरू कर दे। ऐसी उपाधि देने वाली मजहबी मे एक भी ऋषि की व्याख्या मे नहीं प्राणा। न कोई सत्य है। विद्वत सभा धर एक राजनीतिक प्रवच बन गयी है। बलि उनमे एक भी वेद का इष्टा हो। व्यासाचार्य हो तथा स्वामी दयानन्द की तरह सिधि निर्धारक हो तो उसे कुछ बीनये का धर्मिचार हाता ग्रन्थया धर यह मजहबी कि हुन के बिद्वद एक व्यापक धारात तथा बलवानी करण पर तुनी है। हमारी प्राचीन सभ्यता धर तथा जिष्ठाधार पर रह रही थोटी पुरुषेरी और महर्षि सा राजकि की उपाधि धर म रर उपाधि की श्रेणी मे धर बायमी।

(ईदिक भारद्व मे सारा)

## पुरुषार्थ बनाम भाग्य

— डॉ० देवशर्मा वेदासंकर —

कर्म बलि एव लोकमोक्ष-ये वो योगिनाः प्रविष्टा इत्यनेन मनुष्येतर पशुपक्षी आदि जीव लोकमोक्ष के धारणेन आते हैं वो केवल पूर्व कर्मों का फल ही मोक्षते हैं, उस बलि ने किये कर्म कर्मों का फल ने नहीं प्राप्त करते। कर्मबलि में मनुष्य भी गलना होती है, क्योंकि इस जन्म ने मनुष्य वह एक और पूर्वजन्मकर्म फल का मोक्षता है वही दूसरी ओर वर्तमान एव भावी जन्मों के लिए बाध, बाध एव फल का निर्धारण भी करता है। कर्म करता मनुष्य का सहज स्वाभाविक भुल है, प्रतिक्रम वह कोई न कोई कर्म प्रवश्य करता है यदि वह कुछ कर्म नहीं करता तो बाधुष करेगा, लेकिन वह बाधो नहीं बैठ सकता। इसना प्रवश्य है कि मनुष्य, कर्म करने में स्वतन्त्र है जेने कि कोई विचारनी परीक्षाभवन में बैठकर प्रश्नों का उत्तर सही लिखे या झुठल लिखे वह उत्तर लिखने में स्वतन्त्र होता है, उसी प्रकार मनुष्य भी सुष कर्म करे या बाधुष, वह पूर्ण स्वतन्त्र होता है। लेकिन फल प्राप्त करने में वह स्वतन्त्र नहीं होता। जैसे परीक्षाक सही या गलत उत्तरों के अनुसार विचारनी को उत्तीर्ण या अनुत्तीर्ण करता है उसी भाँति पुरुष पिता परमात्मन भी हम मनुष्यों के सुभासक कर्मों का प्रत्यक्ष फल या दुःख रूप फल प्रधान करता है। परमात्मा की यह व्याप व्यापक प्रतिक्रम एव प्रतिक्रमनशील है।

यह दुःख सत्य है कि मनुष्य अपने पुरुषार्थ (कर्म) के बाधर एव सुख दुःखालय फल प्राप्त करता है। यहा विचारणीय विन्तु यह है कि क्या सभी कर्म पुरुषार्थ कहते हैं? नहीं, मनुष्य का प्रत्येक कर्म पुरुषार्थ बोटि ने नहीं बलता और न ही पारिभाषिक अर्थ में वह कर्म होता है—“कि कर्म किमकर्म्मति फलमोपजय मोहिता” (गीता 4-6)। हम प्रत्येक कर्म को पुरुषार्थ समझ लेते हैं जैसे ही यही दुकर्म या धर्म ही कर्मो न हो। एक विचारनी परीक्षाप्रवश्य ने परीक्षा लेते हुये उत्तीर्ण होना चाहता है। इस निमित्त सज्जित रूप ने परीक्षा देना, परीक्षा नियमों का पालन करना-यह तो पुरुषार्थ है। लेकिन परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण करने के उद्देश ने नकल-कलना, बुझनी को प्रश्नकी देना, प्रश्न प्रश्नार्थिक तरीके धरनाना कर्म तो है लेकिन पुरुषार्थ नहीं। इस भाँति प्रतिक्रम के कारण प्रत्येक आसानी, गलतारी, झुठ फल का विचारनी को ही हम मोक्ष पुरुषार्थ समझ लेते हैं और उन नुरादों ने उनको खोते हैं। सत्य यह मामला बाह्यिक कि कर्मव्य परमात्मता तो पुरुषार्थ है केव क्षणव्याप्य—विनका परित्याग सता दुःख होता है।

योगवर्धन ने अनन्तम् परमविमिच्छते हैं - कि पूर्वजन्म के कर्म सत्य भाँति प्रायु और योग हम तीन कर्मों के फलीभूत होते हैं “सति प्रलेख-विपक्षोवात्प्रायुर्भोग” अर्थात् कर्म का सुख रहते पर उस कर्मों का परित्याग भाँति प्रायु और योग के रूप में बाधित्व होता है। काई मनुष्य अपने पूर्व कर्म के बाधर पर वर्तमान जीवन ने मनुष्य मोक्ष ने जन्म लेता है और प्रविश्य ने भी मनुष्य, कुल, जिल्ला आदि के रूप में पैदा होगा, इस ओरि विच्छे की ही “जाति” कहते हैं। कोई भी एक माह तक, कोई 1 वर्ष तक, कोई दस, बीस, पचास और भी वर्षों तक जीवित रहता है। इतने वर्षों तक जीवित रहना जीव की “प्रायु” होती है। और इस जीवन काल ने यह जीव नाया प्रकार की सुख दुःखालय अनुभूतिग्राह्य गहल करता है यह जीव का योग है। इस प्रकार जीवात्मा अपने पूर्व संचित कर्मों के बाधर पर सामान्य रूप ने भाँति प्रायु और योग की प्राप्त करता है। लेकिन यह विच्छे फल जीवन का विस्तार है जीवन की चरम परिणति नहीं, क्योंकि जीवन स्वय एक वलन उर्ध्वच रहता है। जीवात्मा का सत्य है—“कर्तुं क्षातुल्यमोक्षलुप्तवान्म जीव इत्युक्ते” —जिसने कर्तुं क्षातुल्य एव मोक्षलुप्त सुख रहते हो उके जीव कहते हैं भाँति प्रायु बाधि विच्छिन्न फलो का मोक्ष तो जीव है ही, इतने बलवाना क्षातुल्य एव कर्तुं ल की उत्तर रहते हैं। और यह ही सात्वतसत्य है—क्षेत्रज्ञानम श्रुति-ज्ञान के बिना जीव की मुक्ति नहीं होती। यहा नाम का धर्म है-धर्मात्मा का नाम प्रथमा श्राल एव का योग है यह धर्मात्मा नाम प्रथमा आत्मयोध कर्मों के बिना सत्य नहीं होता सत्य कर्म तो जीव को करने ही होते। अतएव यह कहा गया है कि जीवन का मुख्य उर्ध्वच स्वतन्त्र कर्म करता एव आत्मयोध

प्राप्त करता है। यदि यह न माने तो फिर मनुष्य को कर्म स्थापन एव उसके द्वारा मुक्ति पर की प्राप्ति केने मभव होनी?

यहा एक प्रश्न पैदा होता स्वाभाविक है कि जब पूर्व कर्मों के द्वारा भाँति प्रायु भोग-लीनो पहले ने ही निवृत है तब फिर उन्हे बदलने का प्रयास करना संभव अर्थ है जो होता होता वह हाकर ही रहेगा। यदि हमारे भाग्य में पत्नी की मृत्यु और दूसरी पत्नी ने विवाह लिखा है तो वह होकर ही रहेगा। यदि हमारी प्रायु आजीवन धर्म की पूर्णत निमित्त है तो हम उनसे बर्ष ही बिचिये जैसे ही हम कुछ भी कर हैं। सत्य सुगुपीदास जी की यही कहते हैं—“होमिनाम जीवन मरल, यम प्रथम विधि एषा। धर्म धरनी प्रायु एव भाग्य को परिवर्तित करने के लिये प्रयत्न अर्थ है।

इसका समाधान नहीं है कि यद्यपि यह ठीक है कि भाँति प्रायु भोग प्रथमा होनि नाम जीवन मरल प्राप्ति फल हम अपने पूर्व कर्मों के परिणाम स्वरूप प्राप्त करते हैं लेकिन इसका प्रभाव यह कदापि नहीं कि वर्तमान जन्म के नये कर्मों ने इन फलो की इसता में परिवर्तन नहीं किया जा सकता। यदि केवल पूर्व कर्म ही सब कुछ ही और नये कर्मों का भी महत्व न हो तब तो फलो की ‘ध्वस्त’ उत्तरी ही माननी पवती। लेकिन हम पहले ही कह चुके हैं कि जीव का कर्तुल गुरु कर्मो समाप्त नहीं होता जब वह नये कर्मों करेगा तो उनके फल भी प्रथम्य निच्ये। ऐसी धमा ने पूर्व कर्म के फलो की द्यस्त’ में भी परिवर्तन होता स्वाभाविक है। इसे हम निम्न उदाहरण ने बलीभाँति समझ सकते हैं—

जैने जुलाई 87 ने धर्मयान कार्य किया प्रसक्त 87 ने एक हजार 5 सेतन भिला। यह सेतन मेरे पूर्व माह के कम का फल है। इसे हम योग भी कह सकते हैं क्योंकि कि यह सेतन हमारे सुख दुःख का विचारक है। धर्म हैं इस एक हजार 5 की राति को-जी कोम स कम एक माह के सुख साधन जुटाने के लिये पर्याप्त है—यहाँ तो जुमा सेतनक एक ही दिन ने ममाप कर 5 और पाहें तो इतिमता पूर्वक कर्म करते दो और तीन माह तक के लिये सुख सामग्री जुटा सकता है। इस भाँति मैं अपने पुण्य या सुकर्म द्वारा एक सेतन दे ने प्रायु होने वाले योग को बढ़ा भी सकता है और बढा भी सकता है।

एक दूसरा उदाहरण लेते हैं-जैने एक धर्म्यो प्रतिष्ठित दुकान ने गई माइफिल बारीदी। उन्हे हले दो बर्षों की घाटरी दी कि या बर्षों तक इतने काई गबनक नहीं होगी। धर्म यह रूप पर निर्भर है कि साइफिल को ने कंसे रहता है। पाहें दो वर दिन बाद ही कार ने टक्कर मार कर साइफिल को नष्ट प्रयत् कर 5 और पाहें तो उसकी निमित्त वेबधारा करते हुये पाच और सात बर्षों तक उसे ठीक रखूँ, उसका कुछ भी नहीं बिगडता। ठीक इसी भाँति हम अपने कर्मों ने प्रायु प्रायु एव योग की इसता में परिवर्तन कर सकते हैं समयी जीवन एव साधनरूप ने प्रायु एव भाग को ही एव ही ने भी अधिक वर्षों तक बढ़ाया जा सकता है। इसीलिये वेदाधि शास्त्रों ने भी प्रायुर्धु सुधारित्वि के सामग बलित है।

सत्य ने—“कर्मप्रधान विच्छे रचि रावा”—इस श्रुति के अनुसार हमने अपने कर्मों ने पूरा-2 ध्यान देते हुये अपने जीवन का मार्ग प्रसस्त करना बाह्यिक केवल भाग्यवारी बनकर दुर्बलता कर्मों का सहारा लेना और धर्म के लिये धर्मयन्त्र नये रहता अपने धर्मिक को सुधार करना है। निरन्तर कर्म करते रहना ही सच्चा जीवन है—“चरेति चरेति”।

### श्रुति निर्वाण विवस समारोह

आर्य समाज, धर्मरने ने दीपवती के पालन पर पर पुन प्रवर्तक एव राष्ट्रीयता के प्रथम उलाहक महति ध्यानन लखनवी का 104 वा निर्वाण विवस बनात हिन्दू विधिविधानय के धर्मिदायिकी विमार्ग के रीतर में आनन्द प्रकाश की अध्यक्षता ने समारोह पूर्वक धारोविगत मुवा विमये की श्रावर्ष दत्तात्रेय धर्म, डॉ देवशर्मा वेदासंकर को कुडिप्रकाश की धर्म तथा डॉ कृष्णपालासिंह जी ने महर्षि के अनुमन व्यक्तियन एव कलित पर प्रकाश व सते हुए धर्म-विचार होकर प्रेक्षा सुमन प्रकट किये।

—मनीम कुमार शर्मा (धर्मर नरी)

## महर्षि - महिमा

साराज्ञातिष्ठ श्रीरक्षित "संक्षिप्त"

सत्य से जन्मे हुए पुत्र सत्य में लयमान ।  
बन गया जीवन दुष्टद्वारा सत्य का प्रथिवाय ।

एक मूक के जगमा उस जगमोह,  
जन्म के सय मन्त्रि लाया, सत्य का विद्रोह,  
बाध पायी भी नहीं, पितु मोह की जबोरी ।  
मातु की ममता बहाति रह गई टन-नीर ।

तुम कुपाये कीती क्या, कम जमे कष्टान ।  
वा तुम्हारे जान्ते, इस विश्व का कल्याण ।

व्यष्टि के व्यक्तित्व में, बाधे समष्टि विवेक,  
तुम गुणों के बाध बाधे, एक कैवल्य एक ।  
कान्तिदर्शी दृष्टि काँकी, धार तुम के पार ।  
सृष्टि की सुख-शान्ति का सपना लिए आया ।

देख के अन्तिम पवन में तुम प्रथम उत्थान ।  
पूर्व के जयते अग्रय, अम्बाहू के दिन भान ।

वेद की गंगा मरुस्थल में गई थी सूख ।  
बा तिमिर यह व्यापार, सूर्य भी न एक मनुष्य ।  
के मृडन में मनुष्यता के छटपटाते प्राण,  
कर रहा था विश्व, वैदिक बाधु का बाह्यान ।

तुम उदय के साथ साये प्राण का पवमान ।  
पा गये विज्ञान पुन मिश्राण की नव प्राण ।

बच विश्व अभिसार सारे, तब दिशे बरदान ।  
विश्व को अमृत पिताकर, कुल किया विष-भान ।  
फूल बाटे विश्व को वा तुम के प्रतिदान ।  
है तुम्हारे अननित, अहसान पर अहसान ।

भूख सेकड़ा कीन तुमको देव, अन्धान ?  
तुम हुए भी भारती के कान्ति पुत्र, महान ।

## आर्य स्पेशल ट्रेन का मध्य स्वागत

अज्ञानत्व दमितोद्धार तथा भिल्लों के धोर से भी राममान अतिक  
के नेतृत्व में भारत प्रमल एव प्रचार पर निकली आर्य स्पेशल ट्रेन के  
पारिवर्तों का बचमेर पहुचने पर आयत्तमान अचमेर की ओर से रेलवे  
पर स्टेजन भव्य स्वागत किया गया । वैदिक सभ की बाध हो आर्यसमान  
अनार, उच्च विद्यालय की जय के उद्योगों से स्टेजन पूज उद्य ।

भी रातातिष्ठ के नेतृत्व में आचार्य मोहित्विहू की मनीन जनों  
की स्वायी लयबाध की विश्वनासिष्ठ आर्य धर्म सज्जनों तथा लवचेको  
ने हल सापोनन में महोत्सव दिया ।

### सती कांड की निन्हा

आय सनाय भीन्ध महार (द्विपला) ने सर्वस्मयति के  
प्रस्ताव पारित कर रूपकर सती कांड की निन्हा की है । धोर सती  
प्रथा की एक बबर प्रथा बताया है ।

—दुग्धदेव सातवी

### मातु भविष्य रजत जयन्ती समारोह

मातु भविष्य कल्या मुकुलन साराज्ञी का रजत जयन्ती  
समारोह 30-31 अक्टूबर, 1 नवम्बर 1987 को होगा ।

—डॉ. गुणवती (जयन्त)

भी रतनलास गरी आर्य प्रिन्टर्स, अजमेर में मुद्रित कराकर प्रकाशक

मूर्ति पूजा का ...

(विष पृष्ठ 1 का)

### मूर्ति पूजा का

अधुनिक भारत के राजाधारा मोहन राय आदि विन आधिक और  
साप्ताहिक बुधारी में मूर्तिपूजा का विवेक दिया है उनमें मूर्ति पूजापन का  
एक विशेष स्थान है । स्वामीजी में जोमिष कथित है ही, मूर्ति मूर्तिपूजा का  
आधिक और साप्ताहिक कथित है की मूर्तिपूजा की प्रथा हनुमान् पद्धति है ।  
उदाहरण के लिए मूर्ति और मन्दिरों में एक प्रकार का जोर पद्धति का  
अवश्यम होता है उसे गंगा की दक्षिण और धन्य कलियावरी को दूर करने  
में उपयोग किया जा सकता है । मूर्ति और मन्दिरों के नाम पर धन्य  
अनायास कर्माई कर्माई होते हैं । मूर्तिपूजा की ही सर्व सर्व आर्य और मोक्ष  
का साधन समझने के कारण भी मन्त्राचार्य और पुन्यके सिद्धि मन  
जाते हैं । गंगा प्रकार की बकती नामों और किन्तु किन्तु प्रतिक्रिया की  
मूर्तिपूजा के कारण आधिक एकदा मन्द होकर परस्पर विरोधी मत और  
साप्ताहिक मन्त्राचार्य उत्पन्न होती है जिससे वेद की बड़ी हाथ होती है ।  
मूर्तिपूजा के बकतीपूजा के बरोबर विवेक के स्थान में शास्त्रकाराचार्य के पराम्य  
मिलाती है जिसके परिणामस्वरूप वेद की लम्बोत्था का भी राज्ज लय  
पर मनुष्यों का अधिकार हो जाता है । परन्तु न उन्नीस इति किन्तु अमरी की  
यदि कोई हमारे नाम में पुकारा तो हम इसे अपना अपना समझकर कोषित  
हो जाते हैं तो क्या पुन्य ईश्वर के बन्धे देवी मूर्तिपूजा की ईश्वर के नाम  
में पुकारना या सम्पादित करना किन्तु अनायास बन्ध है । मन्दिरों  
और मूर्तिपूजा के दमने के लिए सभी कर्मों अनायास करके मूर्तिपूजा को दूध  
और कथित होते हैं तथा धन व समय नष्ट होता है । मूर्तिपूजा के दमने का  
और से सर्वान् इतनी की अनाई और उपकार के नाना तो किन्तु नाश  
होया । मन्दिरों में पचाये धन का नुकसान मूर्तिपूजा द्वारा मन्त्राचार्य के देवन  
तथा मन्त्राई धन्य और मूर्तिपूजा के किन्तु मन्त्राचार्य के पुन्यके से उन्नीस  
होता है । गंगा मिला आदि मूर्तिपूजा की उन्नीस के स्थान में मन्त्राचार्य मूर्तिपूजा  
की सेवा और सरकार करना एक प्रकार की इतना होता है । मन्दिरों में मूर्तिपूजा  
की बीरी और तोष कीष के कारण मन्त्राचार्य तथा मन्त्राचार्य के दूध और  
कथित योगमा पक्का है । अनेक मन्दिरों में वेद सत्तियों मन्त्राचार्य तथा धन्य  
स्त्रीकी की पुन्यपति से अतिक्रम्य पकता है । मन्दिर के पुन्यकी किन्तु मुनिपति  
पचावी और पुन्यर मूर्तिपूजा की मूर्तिपूजा मूर्तिपूजा पर पकता है वे पुन्य तथा धन्य  
पचावीपूजा मन्द ही नहीं होते किन्तु पचावी के साथ नाशियों में सबकर रोज  
और पुन्य उन्नीस करते हैं । इस प्रकार मन्त्राचार्य के मन्त्राचार्य जय मातु होनी  
हुकित हो जाते हैं और कभी-कभी उनके कीषे आदि उत्पन्न होकर रोज  
जाते हैं ।

### आर्य सभाय अचमेर द्वारा प्रकाशित आदि

#### डॉ. ११ आर्य आर्य द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकें

1. वेद एवं और हिन्दु सभाय को आर्य सभाय की वेद—मूल्य ० 50 पैसे
2. हमारी राष्ट्रीयता का आधार—मूल्य १ 00
3. आचार्य सहाय—मूल्य ० 50 पैसे
4. वी आर्य सभाय हिन्दु विद्यापट्टिहान् (मनेकी)—विषय विद्यापटी हर  
६ 75 00
5. आय सभाय हिन्दु एवं का अन्धकार नहीं—मूल्य—50 व  
अन्ध अन्धकार—

1. आर्य सभाय (हिन्दी) मूल्य अक्षिप 20 ०० व, अक्षिप 16 00  
—ने साना साधकपराय
2. सर्व विद्या (भाग 1 से 11 तक)—दुर्गे हट का मूल्य ६ 32 00
3. अनायास कथा सहाय—मूल्य ६ 3 00
4. अक्षिप निर्वन्धिका (अन्त देव-विदेव की आर्य किन्तु सन्ध्याओं का  
परिचय)—मूल्य ६ 12 00

## सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश ग्रन्थ माला—18 भाग

[ प्रत्येक समुच्चय पर स्वतन्त्र टुकट ]

- |                             |                                 |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 ईश्वर एक मात्र धर्मक      | 9 सर्व और नरक कहाँ है ?         |
| 2 आदर्श माता पिता           | 10 पीछे दृष्टि में सर्व नहीं है |
| 3 पिता और पतिर निर्मातृ     | 11 हिन्दु एवं की निर्वाण        |
| 4 अन्धकार का महान           | 12 पीछे और जैन मत               |
| 5 सत्यार्थ की ओर कीते हों ? | 13 वेद और ईसाई मत               |
| 6 राज्य व्यवस्था            | 14 इस्लाम और वैदिक धर्म         |
| 7 ईश्वर और वेद              | 15 एक का सर्व तथा प्रकाश        |
| 8 अन्ध की उत्पत्ति          |                                 |

विषय—सती टुकट आर्य अक्षर के पीछे के विद्यापीठों के द्वारा लिखित है  
एक अन्धकार का सन्ध्याय आर्य सभाय अचमेर के प्रकाश की सत्यार्थकी  
आर्य में किया है । सत्यार्थका के दुर्गे हट का मूल्य ३/- रुपये है ।

सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश का सम्पादन आर्य सभाय अचमेर के अन्धकार के अन्धकार किया ।

बेवर्गसिद्धोक्तममूलम्

वेद ही सत्यतः धर्म का मूल है।

सत्य को ग्रहण करने और असत्य के छोड़ने में सर्वदा उद्यत रहना चाहिए

—महर्षि भगवान्

दयानन्दार्थ 162

सृष्टि सन्मत - 1972949087

वर्ष 3 रविवार, 15 दिसम्बर, 1967

अंक 18 पृष्ठ 43338/84 H

। ओ३म् ।

# आर्य पुनर्विजय

प्राथमिक पत्र

“आर्य हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म।

ओ३म् हमारा वेद है, सत्य हमारा धर्म ॥”

अथ मित्रावधमम् धर्मिवादमथ आतावधम परोक्षम् ।

अथय नक्तमधर्मं दिवा नी सर्वा भाना भय मित्र भवन्तु ॥

कुण्डलोन्मिश्रकाम्यम्

सकल जगत को धार्म बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :

समाज की वर्तमान एवं भविष्य में पैदा होने वाली समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए आर्यसमाज का पुनर्गठन करना है।

मार्गशीर्ष कृ 9 सन्त 2044

वार्षिक मू 15/-, एक प्रति 60 पैसे

## तथाकथित भगवानों का षडयन्त्र

किस प्रकार में तथाकथित भगवान् धर्म प्रत्यक्ष-अप्राप्त ज्ञानी लोगों को धर्मने अनुसार बनाते हैं यह एक अत्यन्त रहस्यपूर्ण बात है यथा दीर्घकालीन एवं सागरीय वैभव जैसी विषय विपुलियों को ऐसे तथाकथित अर्थात् वेद के प्रकरण प्रभावित करके अपना बचस्य ससार में स्थापित कर देते हैं। यदि भारत में प्रधानमन्त्री इन्हें यह कहते हैं कि निवेदन करें ताकि किसी भी प्रकार आशय सहित हमारा उद्देश्य हो सके तो फिर धर्म साधारण व्यक्ति को धर्म समझाना के लक्ष्य ही भवितव्य बन जायेगा।

यदि किसी न अधिक विवेक नहीं प्रसिद्ध होनी थी तबुर्दा-भालानी कभी जाहूँ सत्य जानें हो तो वह अपने जाहूँ से धर्मों को अप्राप्तित कर लेता है जैसे की सोने की अमूठी बना देना, धर्म मुह में रखना अपना पानी को तम में परवर्तित करना चाहि।

ऐसे भगवान् धर्मने देना एक विवेक में अपने तथाकथित चमत्कारों तथा ऐसे ही धर्म वाग्यामा से बनाता जगत्वा को निश्चयता से लेकर उल्टे मन बाह्य माना शपथ करता न सत्य हो जाते हैं जब इस प्रकार के दुष्प्रभाव बस पर उल्टे आशय कुछ एक देव का योग्य थापन सम्भव है। तो फिर वे परिकल्प कभी कभी की और कभी धर्मने हैं। दुर्भाग्य यह है कि धर्मक भक्ति इनके नाम में फसते रहते हैं, और इस तरह य कुत्सित वेद बनते रहते हैं। विविध बात यह है कि ऐसे तथाकथित धर्मने को भगवान् कल्पे नानी की कोई कोई कभी नहीं होती, एक के बाद दूसरे स्वयं ग्रहण करते रहते हैं। इस तरह से यह

धार्मिक शोषण का निमित्तवा प्रभवतः रूप से चलता जाता है। ऐसे धर्म और धर्मनल बातों का प्रचारित करने वाले की भी परमानन्द हैं। 57 वर्षों की परमानन्द धर्मने व्यक्तित्व के धनी हैं। यदि वे चाहते तो उक्त प्रकार के भगवान् बन सकते य कुछ धार्मिकजनक तथाकथित ऐसे ही कार्य नमाना के द्वारा धर्मों को विनाशित कर सकते हैं। और उसी प्रकार अपना उन्मुख लोका करके एको धाराम का जीवन थापन कर सकते हैं किन्तु इनके विपरीत उन्मुख ऐसे भगवानों की पोत बालकर समाज के सामने नभ करने में लगी और यही मान्य भूता।

श्री परमानन्द की काय सैनी बड़ी तरल एवं विविध हैं। वे उक्त कार्य पढ़ना या सुनना है कि वे, बहमनी भगवान् बनन ऐसे जादू करिसे विधान जा रहे हैं ता वे मायभानी से धर्म की चाना का ट- 3 है समझन है कि य धर्म किस स भगवान् भूदा बचस्य बनाते हैं। यदि किसी व्यक्ति ने धर्मों का धर्म जाहूँ धर्म (Magne) की जालमें जा तो वह ऐसी बाह्यो की मरतला से बना सकता है। वैसे श्री परमानन्द ऐसे तथाकथित भगवानों का बड़ा जोर बस क्यों के करते जा रहे हैं। देवे वे ऐसे धार्मिकजनक एवं अत्यन्त देव विधाने बातों को इस रूप में धारण होने के लिए एक्स्पर्ट बना होता है।

जब प्रत्यक्ष उत्पन्न होता है कि अनुभव ऐसे भगवानों के पास जाते ही क्यों ? क्योंकि वे असत्य मानते हैं कि उन तथाकथित भगवानों में विविध भक्ति है जिससे उन लोगों के कार्य एवं समझने हक की बाकसकी

है। परमानन्द ने हस्त हुए कहा, दुर्भाग्यवश मनुष्यों का धर्म भगवानों में अदृष्ट धर्म भूदा-धर्मित उत्पन्न हो हो जाती है। वे लोग धर्म बातें हैं कि वे भगवान् होकर भी फिर कभी कर धन हण-एवं शोषण करते हैं। ऐसा व्यवस्थापन धर्मने स्वार्थ के कारण होता है। वे धर्म कहते हैं “धर्म मनुष्य ऐसी धार्मिक प्रवृत्ति है जो स्वार्थ सिद्धि के लिए नहीं करता जैसे प्रभु वेदे रोम को हटा दो तो मैं प्रसाद बाटूंगा धर्मवा 100/बाहू दूंगा धर्मवा के जीत ही ऐसा 2 कक या धर्मि 2।” क्या वह भगवान् को रिखन नहीं है ? यदि मनुष्य नल्के धर्मों में भगवानों को मानता है तो फिर वो कुछ उनकी इच्छानुसार होता है वही ठीक और उपयुक्त है एसा मानना चाहिये।

परमानन्द इस प्रकार के व्यक्ति सही वे साधू हैं। धर्मवा भगवान् कहलाते हो धर्मि विचार है। श्री परमानन्द न विरोध रूप से दब की एवं विवेक की धनक यात्राओं की 4000 वक्तवा न विधान क आधार पर बाह्य एवं मुक्ति सम्पत्ति हैं। श्री परमानन्द न तथा उनके धर्मके साथी विनये ईशानिक धार्मिक विचारधारा लोग वे, न्यूयार्क से सन् 1976 में एक पत्रिका “The Sceptical Inquirer” निकाली अप्राप्तित की। इस पत्रिका का अध्ययन धर्मन विधाना धार्मिक एवं धार्मिक लोगों ने किया। परमानन्द को इस धार्मिक पत्रिका प्रकाशन हेतु किस बात ने धार्मिक किया ? वे कहते हैं कि जब मैं ऐसी Miracle में बड़ा विस्वास करता था तब मैं भी इस कला में धारण होना चाहता था। इस कार्य के लिए मैंने

19 वर्ष में अपना घर छोड़ दिया। किन्तु कोई भी धर्म-भगवानों की बात किपरिणाम न वे सका। मैं बाहू के इस विस्वास के साधन भेंट कर थावा कि वे सत्य धर्मवा है और Miracle जैसी चीज कुछ भी नहीं कि ऐसे भगवान् बनने वाले धर्म धर्मवा देते हैं और वे विशेष परिस्थिति में Miracle करना जान जाते हैं विशेष कुछ गन्धी-धर्मवा है इस। विस्वास एवं मान्यता को सिद्ध करने लिए वे उदाहरण देते हैं “मैं जब 8 वर्ष का था, ओल्डर काजीकलम को मेरे पिता के विनये वे, मे एक धार्मिकजनक शेत दिखाता। उसमें मैं, मेरे मित्र को धर्मने बर पर धर्मवा और धर्मने उल्टे धर्मने बर के टैक धर्मने में स्तान करते थावा। जैसे ही हम उनके पास पहुँचे उन्मुख हमारे उर्ध्व पानी उछाल कर फेंका। धार्मिक कि यह पानी फेंका बन गया बाद में उन्मुखों में कहा कि यह मैं धार्मिक टैक मे नहीं कर सकता।

गर्द बाबा को लो लो कि धर्म हाथ के पानी की पेट्रोल न बस देते हैं किन्तु जब हमने उल्टे धर्मने दिवा कि हमारे बताये द्वारा ऐसा कल्पे विधाने को पुनः उल्टे। सत्य ता यह कि ऐसे भगवान् विधाने माने स्वयं धर्मवा दूसरों के धर्म-धर्म मानते हैं धर्मन सत्य बाबा ही धर्मवा हैं। सत्य सत्य धर्मवा धर्मन प्रसिद्ध धर्मक तथाकथित भगवानों में वे एक हैं। जिन पर पहले परमानन्द का भी विस्वास था। किन्तु जब श्री कला के बाह्यता 7 क कोर धर्मक ने सन् 1976 में उल्टे धर्म के साथ सिद्ध करना को कहा ता वे हमसे बल्के रह गये-मन धर्मवा। इसी श्रेष्ठ पृष्ठ 5 पर

निवेदन : दत्तात्रेय धर्म

प्रधान संपादक रासासिह

संपादक : श्रीरंज कुमार धर्म

कार्य : 21010





## चिता से लौटाकर पुनर्विवाह करने वाली ऋचाएं

यह देखकर मरम्मा और सच्चा होता है कि धर्म की हिन्दुओं ने यह माना था रहा है कि सती-मर्या निषिद्ध है उस समय ही और यह बहुप्रसिद्ध रही है। कि सती-मर्या ही नहीं, हिन्दुओं के समाज इस तरह के विवाहों की यदि मास्को या अन्य प्रयासों की कसौटी पर परखा जाए तो वे अधिक से अधिक धर्मरहित ही ठहरते हैं। लेकिन कोई पुनर् या मूल 'फलानेय/मनुष्य' मान्य के ऐसा कहा गया है तो कुछ कर किसी भी मानवविज्ञानी विचार की मर्मा के लिए प्रचलित कर सकता है।

ए कि सती की धर्मधारणा स्त्री के विधवा होने से चुकी हुई है इसलिए देखना यह होगा कि हिन्दु संस्कृति के प्राविशाल वैदिक युग में विधवाधारा का क्या स्थान था। सबसे पहले तथ्य यह है कि युग में विधवा होने की पुनर्मान्य कलम का विपति नहीं माना जाता था। उस समाज में विधवा की केवल विधवा रहकर ही जीने का अधिकार था। एक ऋचेदीय ऋचा में ऐसी स्त्रियों का उल्लेख है।

लेकिन यह कहीं भी अनिर्धार्य न था कि विधवाएं विधवा ही रहें। उन्हें पुनर्विवाह का अधिकार था। मरम्मेद में ऐसी पुनर्विवाहित स्त्रियों की 'पुनर्' कहा गया है। ऐसे पुनर्विवाह का ठोस प्रमाण इस तरह मिलता है —

मा पुनर् पति विधवाय विन्ते परम् ॥

पचोदय च तावदय च दातो न वि बोधत ॥

समानलोको भवति पुनर् पाप पति ॥

योऽयं पचोदय दक्षिणायोतिष ददाति ॥

(अथर्ववेद 9, 5 27 28)

"विध स्त्री का पहला पति था यदि वह मरे स विवाह करती है और यदि वे पति पत्नी पचोदय (पचोदय बोधन था दातो) के साथ वेत हैं तो वे कभी धर्मरही नहीं होने। पुनर् पति धर्मनी इस पुनर् विवाह करने वाली पत्नी के साथ उड़ी लोक को प्राप्त करेगा।"

इससे यह संकेत सम्यक् मिलता है कि पचोदय के रूप में पुनर्विवाह का कोई सामाजिक मुक्त प्राप्तिगत मुक्त दिना जाता था। हिन्दु यह एक टोकन' के बराबर कुछ न था।

कुछ लोगों का ऐसा मत है कि धर्मवेद में विधवाधर्म के पुनर्विवाह का प्रमाणितर में एक और उल्लेख है —

उत यत सती वन स्त्रिया पूर्वं धर्मधारणा ।

ब्रह्मा वेचकस्तामग्रहीत स एव पतिरेकम् ॥

ब्राह्मण एक पतिव रात्रयो न वैश्य नही । (5, 17 8 9)

"किसी नारी के वन ब्रह्माह्वय पति की हो चुके हो किन्तु यदि ब्राह्मण उससे विवाह करे तो बड़ी उसका वास्तविक पति माना जायेगा। वह ब्राह्मण ही उसका पति होगा। (पिण्ड) अनिय या वैश्य नहीं।

धर्मरहित प्रमाण होने के बावजूद वैदिक साहित्य में विधवा पुनर्विवाह के उल्लेख इतने-ए अधिक नहीं पाए जाते क्योंकि तत्कालीन समाज में सतीगतिस्ती स्त्री का बरत सामान्य माना जाता। उसके लिए उसका विधिवत विवाह करना आवश्यक न था क्योंकि तब नियम नामक प्रथा की विवाह

विलीनी हो सामान्य और प्रचलित की। नियोग के चलते-व निश्चितता विधवा (या मनुष्य की पत्नी) अपने देवर या उस उद्देश्य के लिए बाधक किसी अन्य नवदीकी रिश्तेदार के सतान प्राप्त कर सकती थी। नियोग-मर्या के प्राप्त किया गया पुनर् समाज युग के व्यावसायिक-व्यवस्था जात था।

अग्नि-युग की सम्मोहित करते हुए ऋचेद में एक वक्ता कहा गया है "सुम्ने उस तरह कीन बुलाता है जैसे विधवा अपने देवर को बुलाती है।" को या बहुधा विधवे देवर (10, 40, 2)। इससे देवर के विवाह न नियोग का स्पष्ट संकेत नहीं मिलता लेकिन निरुक्त (3/15) में इस ऋचा की व्याख्या में देवर को दूसरा पति माना गया है।

वैश्य, सती-मर्या और समाज में विधवा के पुनर्विचार के बारे में एक महत्वपूर्ण उल्लेख अथर्ववेद में मिलता है, जिसमें नियोग प्रथा का भी स्पष्ट हवाला है ?

इव नारी पतिभोक्त भुलाना नि पचत उपत्या मय भेदम् ।

धर्मं पुतासमुपयामन्ती तस्यै प्रजा श्रद्धिं मेह वेष्टि ।

उदीच्य मार्गं वि जीबलोक्तं नतासुमेनुप मेव पति ॥

हस्तग्रामस्य विधिभोक्तवेद यल्लुगमिलमयि स भूषम् ॥

अथय युवतिं नीयमाना जीमा मुतेभ्य परिधीयमानाम् ॥

अन्य नतु समसा प्रातुधीत प्रातोः अपाधीमय उवेनाम् ॥

प्रजालयन्त्य जीबलोक्तं नतासुमेनुप मेव पति ॥

धर्म वे सोपतिस्तं धृष्टस्य स्वर्गं जीबमयि रोहर्मेयम् ।

अथर्ववेद 18, 3, 1-4)

इस ऋचाओं का सार्य इस तरह है प्राचीन धर्म का पालन कर पहले मन्त्र में विधवा अपने मृत पति के साथ भेट जाती हैं। इस दूसरे मन्त्र में उसका देवर या अन्य कोई निष्ठ का सम्बन्धी उसे पिता पर के उठने के लिए कहता है। तीसरे मन्त्र में बापस घर से आया जाता है और अन्य वे जो भी योग्य हूँक उससे विवाह की कामना करे उसके बारे में कहा जाता है कि यही तेरा पति है।

प्राचीन धर्म का पालन कर पतिभोक्त की कामना करती हुई यह स्त्री मृत पति को त्याग कर तेरे पास आई हैं। इस धर्म का पालन करने वाली स्त्री को तू इस बसारा के सतान और धन दे। हे स्त्री ! तू को इस मृत पति के पास भेटों हैं उठकर उसके पास से बची आ। बसारा के लौटकर तेरा पतिग्रहण करने वाले (अपने-दूसरे) पति की सतान को प्राप्त हो। समान की और जीवित के आई हैं और युव, मनुष्यों के बीच से बापस आई हैं युवती को यिने पुनर्विवाह किया वेना है। जो लोकप्रति अविधारे से धिरी हैं की उस घर की और जाने वाली इस स्त्री को बड़ा समझ लाया है। हे धर्मरही स्त्री ! उसका को कुछ जानती हुई और वेताओं की राह पर चलती हुई, यह जो तेरा भोक्ति (नता) है। उससे प्रेम कर। इस तरह इस भोक्ति को स्वयं का पाप बना।' (हिन्दुस्तान के (अथार)

### प्रतिनिधि धर्म्य

—देवनागिराज भारद्वाज

कुछ प्राज्ञिक बनो या बनो नहीं, मानव हो सच्चे बन जाओ।

निधि दयानन्द के बन न सको, प्रतिनिधि हो सच्चे बन जाओ ॥

ऋषि-मुनि पठित सन्त मनीषी,  
मानव के विविध विवेचण थे,  
यदि मुक्त मनुज हो मिट जाये,  
तो व्यर्थ हुए विवेचण ये, ॥  
जीवित की छोटा धातूचरण,  
मृत हेतु व्यर्थ परिवेचन ये।  
अनुशासन स्नेह सगठन विन,  
सब धर्महीन ग्रहिवेचन ये।

स्वामी समान यदि बन न सको, सेवक ही बन जाओ।

निधि दयानन्द के बन न सको, प्रतिनिधि हो सच्चे बन जाओ ॥

सत युव प्रजा द्वार पर धीरे,  
जब धर्म्य धर्म का बा प्रमाण  
कमजुब के धारण कास तक,  
या वेद मक्ष का ही विकास ॥  
सतभेद हूँक समझे ऐसे,  
हो गया महाभारत विनाश।  
ऋषि दयानन्द ने धाकर के,  
बा रोक दिया वे ध्वज ह्रास ॥

ऋषि के अनुयायी बन न सको, म्मानी ही सच्चे बन जाओ।

निधि दयानन्द के बन न सको, प्रतिनिधि हो सच्चे बन जाओ ॥

## रामायण पर एक प्रतिक्रिया ऐसी की

## राम और सीता

— सीताराम गोखले —

टी वी सीरीय रामायण से सीता का चित्रण को क्या क्या है उससे सती के तुरंत को जाहूरी साम्राज्ञा विभती है। मेरा मुकाम है कि दूरसन इसके साथ जुड़े विचार को कि बहिष्करण की रामायण पर आलोचना में दिने गए हैं, भी प्रस्तुत करें।

प्रसिद्ध बंगाली लेखक श्री दम्भा है कि सायु वती के हिन्दू सीतो वर कटाक्ष के मूल से बाला बाहिए जिसने हिन्दुत्वानी सीता मनुष्य प्रज्ञा लमाय के धोषन व उनकी शिफार रही है। काकर पुराने काल के कविओं के सीता को सीता विराज है उसको सीती साधी धाम बुद्धि धारा पति व सुतराव बातो पर पूर्ण रूप से प्रापित जताया है इसीलिए लेखक ने खोज कर पवित्री हिन्दी प्रभासी लेखकों के विचार साथ से रने हैं जिससे बालिकी रामायण पर कठोर आलोचना की है तथा युरोप में को विचार का विमल बना हुआ है। इस खोज में सीता का जा चित्रण उभर है यह भारतवर्ष के हृदय विचारक है। उस काल में कविओं ने छोटी मोटी मृदुलियों ने स्त्री के चरित्र पर आकाश किया है तथा अपने वर्तव्य व विर गये थे। सीता अपने धाम में ऊँचे स्तर व वास्तविक मान मर्यादा पर रही है।

सीता की पुरातुल्य ने कभी भी गुलामी व सीध रूप का आचमणी होता है। उसने अपने विद्या स्नेह से को लही वा निर्भय लिए थे। वह भी लही है कि कभी 2 राय के मोहनी रूप से आचमि हुई। लेकिन वो जाहूरी की की पिता के राज को ठुकराने तथा कम जाने के धारोका का पालन न करें।

राम के पिता के धारोको का सीता से पालन करने पर उसकी धम्का मया लेकिन उसकी विरमता वा की उसके साथ होने से राम अपनी सीता पर गौर वरसीर राज पाने के लिए धरोप्या बापस लौटेंगे। इसीलिए वह राम

के साथ बन में भी गई। लेकिन राम ने इस लक्ष पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। इसके उपरान्त इकाकरण में राम सीध जलुयो व वनवासिता से मोहू करने लगे।

सीता जिसने राजकुमारी का जीवन बिना उसको यह वनवास-गीत की विमयी ने उजा दिया था। तथा उसने राजल के साथ वो कि राम बीना नमसुरत लही था फिर भी मनुष्य से उपर का साथ रज्जुना बाहू। वह एक वर्ष में लम्बा ने रही तथा वहा के वैभव का आनम लिया। राम अपने जयनी सीता की सहमता से सीता के धामन्य के समन से कमी कर सता तथा रायल पर विमय पाई। सीता जब राम के पात धाईं उसने कोई डू व व पक्षताम प्रयट नहीं किया। जब मनुष्य भेंट ने उसको बिन्दा जलाने का धारैव बिना तो उसने बड़ी हिकात की गियाह से देखा। वह बड़ बहिमान से बरी तथा उस कमबोर इरणीक से गियाह बिनाह लेकिन मनुष्य भेंट प्रज्ञा के सामने मुकी नहीं।

बहिम बड़ के लेख उनकी किसी पुस्तकी में धाराती से मिल सकते हैं। दूरवर्तन को तो केवल उनके धाधार पर टी की लेख लैवार करना होगा। यह धारैव व प्रदशन भावी पीढ़ियों के लिए बहुत ही उलाह बर्षक लैवा क्योंकि वो आचामी काल से राज्य करेंगे। अब समय था तथा है जल्दी सीत के स्वाभिमान को बचाया जा सके जिसको बहुत हद तक बालिकी तथा सुसीदास वीसे सीतो ने काफी कुचलन लैवाया है। वहा तक की बचान धोरत की मरने के साथ बचना पडा। जब तक बिन्दी ने जलानी लहरी है उसके आचमण की पूरा कोवना बाहिए धोर लवर्दी मुक के लिए बलिदान न कर देना बाहिए। (टाइम थाक इन्विता से साधार)

## रमानन्द वैदिक शोधपीठ, अजमेर

अधोय,

रमानन्द वैदिक शोधपीठ अजमेर शीघ्र ही वैदिक विज्ञान, धर्म दर्शन सस्कृति विज्ञान, सिन्ध एवं इतिहास-सांस्कृतिक एक धार्मिक शोध-मन्त्रिका के प्रकाशनार्थ इतककल्प है। इसमणेदि के शोध-निबन्धा के लिए अनुचित विधिया की व्यवस्था है। शोध-निबन्ध 10-20 पृष्ठ का होना बाहिए। भाषा हिन्दी तथा इन्ग्लिश काय सुस्पष्ट होना बाहिए। ये शोध-निबन्ध दिनांक 15-12-87 तक प्रगतिमाय रूप से अग्रोहल्लाभरर्त्ता शोधपीठ के अध्यक्ष के पास भुक्क जाने बाहिए। निबन्ध से प्रायः हल भाने निबन्ध-आ को इस अक म प्रकाशित करना सम्भव न हो सकेगा। निबन्ध की कोटि तथा प्रकाशनाहता का निर्धारण तत्परे मण्डित समिति करेगी। स्तरावर तथा समयादीपित निबन्ध की अनुचित शोध-व्यय प्रायः होने पर बापस भेजना सम्भव हा सकेगा।

प्रधान-सम्पादक

वरसक

आचार्य बलार्थ व आर्य

निदेशक

(आ) बाबुराम आर्य

आचार्य एम. ए. पी. एच. डी., सी. लिट.

शोधक एम. एम. एम.

## शोध प्रस्ताव

अर्य समाज अजमेर ने अपने समासद तथा हैदराबाद सत्याग्रही श्री मूषकन्य तवर के दिनांक 29 अक्टूबर की हुए प्रभाविक निमन पर दुःख प्रकट किया है और परम पिता परमात्मा से उनकी आत्मा को चिरसाति एवं शुद्धिगत प्रदान करने की प्रार्थना की है।

## सम्बन्धन

आर्यसमाज बांदाबाद में 6 नवम्बर से 8 नवम्बर तक वनवासी सम्मेलन का आयोजन किया गया। इसी अवसर पर आर्य प्रतिनिधि तथा राज्यपाल को अवतर सभा का आयोजन 8 नवम्बर को सम्पन्न हुआ। इसमें सभा के सभासी समारोह सम्बन्धी अनेक महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय लिए गए।

## शुभ विवाह

आर्यसमाज विज्ञा सभा के उपमन्त्री श्री बदेरन धार्य की सुपुत्री सी मनुषा का विवाह सिन्धवा निवासी श्री विनय से 4 नवम्बर को सातव सम्पन्न हुआ।

'आर्य पुनर्मंडन' परिवार को धोर से नववन्मति की हार्दिक शुभ-कामनाएं।

## आवश्यकता

अध्यापक १. द्वितीय ग्रेड अग्रणी, एम. ए. बी. एड.

२. तृतीय ग्रेड, बी. ए. बी. एड. ३. बी. एल. सी. बी. एड.

४. हायर लेक्चररी, एल. डी. सी. आर्येदन वगैरे पांच रुपये

के फार्म पर मंत्री को सात दिन में भेजें।

अभ्यागो की सदस्यता :

बापट राहक ने उग्रे एक साथ देन को नहा फिर भी वृत्त तथा येसदता ही नही परमानन्द स्वयं ने भी सार्ह बाबा को अनेक बार सलकाया किन्तु वे तो उनका (परमानन्द) नाम कुल कर ही नसे बाते वे। वे तो अपने 5000 शक्तो के बीच वे धायम वे ही कुल करते रहते थे। परमानन्द ने अनेक पायलो के धरिपरित अनेक पधिकार्य-नर्ष प्रकाशित किन्तु जिनने ही सार्हबाबा की पीत एवं घोषा में। (इस शिट से माभार)

[पुच्छ] का केष

अभी ने विषय में बताया। वे भी

माई बाबा को अपने बह भुलिप

अन्धे ने बडा बोखेबाद बहते हैं।

उतना ही नही परमानन्द ने तो इस

भगवन्त को विच्छ कानुनी कार्यवाही

भी की। ज्ञातक क्या बहते, सार्ह

बाबा को सात वषभोद कटुडोस एतद

के विरुद्ध कोट म दावे के प्रसीदा

गया क्याकि वे अपने भक्ता को

हवा-पानी से माला बनाकर बते

थे। (इस शिट से माभार)





श्री रासातिह के नेतृत्व में धार्मिक स्पेशल ट्रेन के स्वागतार्थ स्टेशन पर हैं धार्मिकजन

**आर्य समाज शिक्षा सभा अजमेर  
की बैठक सम्पन्न**

स्वाधीन व्यवस्थित कलिंग, डी. ए. पी. स्कूल, शिवासास हस्तान  
लगा धन्य वह विभिन्न शिक्षण संस्थाओं की प्रमुखकारियों तथा  
साथ संस्था शिक्षा तथा की कार्यकारियों की एक विशेष बैठक  
रविवार 1 नवम्बर, 1987 ई० को छात्रों के प्रधान न्यायपूर्ण जस्टिस  
जी. पी. वेदों की अध्यक्षता में दयानन्द कलिंग संस्थान में  
अवस्यत हुई।

भारत समाज शिक्षा सभा की प्रबन्ध समिति ने तीन लाख के नवोन भवन निर्माण एवं श्यामस्य कॉलेज में छत्रमेर विश्व-विद्यालय को स्वर्ण देवे के प्रस्तावों को स्वीकृति प्रदान की।

इस बैठक में श्री ए. बी. मैनेजिंग कमिटी, दिल्ली के अध्यक्ष श्री मेहरबाबासाहेब, श्री दरबारासाहब व श्री रामनाथ सह्याय तथा बम्बई के कंस्टेन देबराल्ल धाय ने भी भाग लिया।

**दयानन्द कॉलेज ट्रस्ट स्थापित**

[illegible]

रविवार 1 नवम्बर को हुई ट्रस्ट की प्रथम बैठक में प्रायः समाज विज्ञान विभा की समर्पिता की सूची प्रस्तुत की गई जिसमें सवप्रथम बार कराँड के छोटे-मोटे भवन हैं। बैठक में इन सभी का रख-रखाव, नक्काश व रजिस्टर व्यवस्थित करने का निर्णय किया गया।

**वाषिकोदसव**

आर्थिक समाज विज्ञान मन्त्र द्वारा तृतीय वार्षिकोत्सव व  
यकुर्बेद पारायण वक्ता ५ से ६ नवम्बर तक बुधवार से  
मनाया गया ।

—केवल कदाचिदपि

## हैदराबाद के सत्याग्रहियों की संगोष्ठी

धजमेर : नवम्बर । धार्यसमाज धजमेर के तत्वावधान में हैदराबाद के सर-पंचिहों की समस्याओं के विषय में विचार-विमर्श करने हेतु एकसहोष्ठी का आयोजन समाज भवन में किया गया। संतोष्ठी में श्री बहादुर स्नातक (जनसम्पर्क प्रतिकारी सावदेशिक नगा) ने समाजहितियों की समस्याओं के समाधानार्थ प्रयत्न सफल दिए।

गोष्ठी में सबकी फीमात्र धनी व बलीलाल, फाहपुरा, मवरलाल  
बलबन्धसिंह, अमनाथप्रसाद व स्वामी देवाराजजी आदि कृत्वाग्रही  
सम्मिलित हुए ।

सुभाषन श्री नवीन कुमार शर्मा ने किया ।

आर्य समाज अजमेर द्वारा प्रकाशित साहित्य

1. देख, धर्म की रक्षा समाज को धर्म सन्तान की देव—मूल्य रु. 50 पैसे
2. हमारी राष्ट्रीयता का आधार—मूल्य रु. 1 00
3. आधार संहिता—मूल्य रु. 0 50 पैसे
4. श्री धर्म समाज हिन्दू विश्वारंभसिद्धिग्रन्थ (अष्टांग) —विशेष रियायती दर रु. 75 00
5. धर्म सन्तान हिन्दू धर्म का सम्प्रदाय नहीं मूल्य—50 रु.

- 1 प्राय समाज (हिन्दी) मुद्रा सन्निवृत्त 20 00 रु अतिरिक्त 16 00  
 --- से साता लाभपत्रारम्भ  
 2 धन निज्ञा (प्राय 1 स 11 तक) —पूरे सेंट का मूल्य रु 32 00  
 3 दयानन्द कथा संग्रह—मूल्य रु 3 00  
 4 परिचय निर्वहिका (समस्त देश-निर्वह की प्राय विज्ञापन मुद्राओं का  
 परिचय) —मूल्य रु. 1200

**सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश ग्रंथ माला-15 भाग**

[ प्रत्येक समस्यासु पद स्वतंत्र टैकेट ]

- |                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 ईश्वर एक मात्र धर्मक       | 9 स्वर्ग और नरक कहाँ हैं ?        |
| 2 धर्मार्थ मरना भिन्न        | 10 धर्म के भूतों के धर्म नहीं हैं |
| 3 मित्रा और धर्मिक मित्रार्थ | 11 हिन्दू धर्म की विशेषता         |
| 4 गृहस्थाश्रम का महत्व       | 12 गौड और कौन मत                  |
| 5 सत्यार्थ कीम और कैसे हों ? | 13 गौड और ईश्वर                   |
| 6 राज्य व्यवस्था             | 14 इस्लाम और वैदिक धर्म           |
| 7 ईश्वर और वेद               | 15 धर्म का धर्म क्या प्रकाश       |
| 8 धर्म की उत्पत्ति           |                                   |

**विवेचन**—हामी ट्रस्ट मार्ग बनाने के बोरी के विधानों के द्वारा सिद्धित एक बन्गाला का सम्पादन मार्ग समाप्त करने के प्रधान प्रो. मन्नादेव मार्ग से किया है। बन्गाला के पूरे सैट का मूल्य 8/- रुपये है।

श्री रत्नमाला वर्मा द्वारा आयोजित प्रिण्टर्स अजमेर में मद्रित कराकर प्रकाशक रासासिंह ने आयसमाज भवन, केसरगढ़ अजमेर से प्रकाशित किया।

बेरोमिलोकर्यमूलम्  
वेद ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है।

सत्य को ग्रहण करने और असत्य के छोड़ने में सर्वदा उत्तम रहना चाहिए।  
—महर्षि दयानन्द

दयानन्दम् : 162

सृष्टि सम्बन्ध : 1972949087

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। ओ३म् ।

# आर्य पुनर्विज्व

पाक्षिक पत्र

“आर्य हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म।  
ओ३म् हमारा वेद है, सत्य हमारा कर्म।”

धर्मय मित्रादभयम् अमित्रादभयम् ज्ञातादभयम् परोक्षात्।  
अर्थय मनुष्यमय दिवा न सर्वां प्राप्ता मम मित्र भवन्तु ॥

कुम्भारोविद्वक्तायम्  
सकल जगत् को आर्य बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :  
समाज की वर्तमान एव  
भविष्य में पैदा होने वाली  
समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत  
रखते हुए आर्यसमाज का  
पुनर्गठन करना है।

वार्षिकीय शु 10 सवत 2044  
वार्षिक मू 15/-, एक प्रति 60 पैसे

सती प्रथा विरोधी पत्राचार में—

## अजमेर आर्यसमाज का जत्था भी भाग लेगा

अजमेर। सती प्रथा तथा सारी  
उत्पीड़न के विरोध में आर्य जगत् के  
सुप्रसिद्ध स्वामी स्वामी ब्रह्मचर्य  
के नेतृत्व में दिल्ली से विचाराभा तक  
आयोजित पत्राचार में आर्य समाज  
अजमेर का भी एक 51 सदस्यीय  
जत्था भाग लेगा। इस आशय का  
निश्चय आचार्य दत्तात्रेय आर्य  
प्रधान, आर्य समाज अजमेर की  
अध्यक्षता में सम्पन्न हुई आर्य समाज  
के पदाधिकारियों की बैठक में लिया  
गया।

यह ज्ञातम् है कि स्वामी ब्रह्म-

चर्य के नेतृत्व में यह हमारा आर्य  
सत्याग्रहियों एव आर्यवीरों की पं-  
नामा दिल्ली से 5 दिसम्बर की  
आरम्भ होकर 23 दिसम्बर को  
विचाराभा पहुँचेंगी। इनमें सम्मिलित  
आर्य पदवीधारी-आर्य सतीप्रथा तथा  
सारी उत्पीड़न के विरोध में जन  
जागृता तथा महिलाओं के प्रति  
अत्याय एव कल्याण की भावना  
आसक्त करते हुए सरकार से ‘कपकप  
काण्ड’ में सम्मिलित दोषी व्यक्तियों  
के बिच्छड़ कठोर कार्यवाही करते की  
पुरजोर माग करेंगे।

आर्यसमाज, अजमेर की ओर से  
श्री रासासिंह मंत्री, आर्य समाज,  
अजमेर के सचिवन न एक मणित का  
भी मज्ज निष्ठा गया है। श्री रासा-  
सिंह के अजमेर क्षेत्र के अनेक  
सम्मिलित होने के इच्छुक व्यक्तियों  
के आशय समाज, अजमेर से सम्पर्क  
करने का अनुरोध किया है। अजमेर  
का जत्था पदवीधारी में जल्दपूर से  
सम्मिलित होगा।

जल्द के सत्याग्रहियों के मूलतः  
बहुत आर्य समाज, अजमेर रहेगा।  
पदवीधारा कार्यक्रम-स्वामी ब्रह्म-

चर्य के पत्राचार पत्राचार का नाम-  
इस प्रकार है। 5 दिसम्बर को पद-  
वाभा जत्था दिल्ली से चलकर 17  
दिसम्बर को आर्य पत्राचार। 17  
दिसम्बर को 5 बजे माघ आर्य से  
चलकर 18 दिसम्बर की सुबह  
जल्दपूर में, सती विरोधी विचार  
सभा के आयोजन में सम्मिलित। 19  
दिसम्बर को जल्दपूर के उपनगर  
विश्वकर्मागिर में पत्राचार। बहा से  
आर्य नीय, मन्दीरा, प्रजीतगढ़ होते  
हुए स्वामी ब्रह्मचर्य के विचार  
विचार पर 23 दिसम्बर की सुबह  
विचाराभा में प्रवेश।

## सचाई सिर पर चढ़कर बोलती है

— बोरख कुमार आर्य —

विश्व प्रसिद्ध लेखक एव विचारक  
बर्नार्ड शा का कथन है—“सब बोलना  
हुनिया का सबसे बड़ा मजाक है।”  
किन्तु शास्त्रिकताश्रुच है—उपका  
यह ध्वन्य। आर्य के मुख में सत्य का  
पुष्पतया लोभ हो गया है। लोग सब  
बोलने में, लिखने में डूबते हैं। आर्य  
सत्य का आत्मन्य लेना एक बड़ा  
‘महगा मोटा’ हो गया है। किन्तु  
किन्तु की कभी-कभी कुछ लोग अपनी  
आत्मात्मा की आत्मात्मा पर सत्य को  
प्रकट करते पर विश्व हो जाते हैं।  
ऐसे ही एक सचन्य इस्तेमाल की प्रसिद्ध  
पत्र के धर्मधिकारी डा जैनकिन्स  
हैं।

श्री जैनकिन्स मानते हैं कि ईसाई  
धर्म सत्यको डा चमत्कारिक आर्य  
ईसाई लेखक लिखते हैं, वे सत्य पर  
आधारित नहीं है और आत्मिकता  
के उनका दूर दूर की भाषा नहीं है।  
के इन लेखकों को ऐसे धर्मप्रचारक  
मानते हैं, जो अपने उद्देश्य की प्रति

रिहू नामा प्रकार की मुक्तियों व  
तकनीक के द्वारा अपनी धार्मिक  
चमत्कारिक बातों को जैन-जैन-

प्रकारेण सिद्ध करते हैं।  
श्री जैनकिन्स धार्य कहते हैं कि  
वस्तुतः वे सारी चमत्कारिक बातें

## ईसाईमत और विशप जोन राबिन्सन

ईसाई धर्म व ईसा के तथ्याकविष्ट करिम्सो के विश्व में प्रसन्नविष्ट पैदा  
करने वाले विशप डा जैनकिन्स से पूर्व इस्तेमाल के ही एक आर्य विशपा विशप  
जोन राबिन्सन ने भी। 62 के ‘प्रलेस्ट टू गाइड’ नामक अपनी पुस्तक में  
आनेक तर्क पूर्ण प्रथन इस सत्य में उतरे हैं।

श्री राबिन्सन लिखते हैं कि वर्तमान वैज्ञानिक युग में चौथे आसमान में  
स्थित तथ्याकविष्ट ईश्वर के प्रति आत्मा उत्पन्न करना सम्भव नहीं है।  
विशप महोदय आने लिखते हैं कि मानव की अब तथ्याकविष्ट स्पर्धी पिता  
की आत्मता से ऊपर उठना होगा और यह मानना ही होगा कि ईसाईमत  
नयेद चौथे आसमान पर नहीं गए।

यह सत्यान्वेषी विशप अन्य साधारण ईसाईयों की भाँति यह स्वीकार  
करते पर भी उलट नहीं कि ईसा स्वय ईश्वर अथवा ईश्वर का इकनित  
पुत्र था। और विशप की दृष्टि में आत्मा नामक तथा माता ह्यूमा का स्वयं से  
प्रचारण होना केवल कान्टों का भी विशप ही हो सकता है।

विशप ‘मरियम के कुमारों’ रहते या बनते की मान्यता की भी एक  
कपील कल्पना समझता है। इस सत्य में पुत्रे जाने पर उसका कहना है  
‘जो ही कोई भोजन नास्तिक कहें, किन्तु मैं इन प्रकार के विश्वास रखने में  
असमर्थ हूँ। बाइबिल में इस सम्बन्ध में जो प्रमाण एव साक्षिया अस्ति की  
वर्ष हैं, यह ध्वनित हैं।  
बाइबिल में यह भी स्पष्ट निर्देश नहीं  
किया कि ईसा स्वयं परमात्मा था।”

मात्र एक दोग है और इस सत्य में  
वर्च का इतिहास तो अत्यन्त प्रभाव  
है। आप कहते हैं कि प्रभाव के  
नाम पर जो धार्मिक एव धर्मपुत्र  
चमत्कारों की बातें की जाती हैं वह  
सब धोखा है, लेकिन लोगों की आरा-  
त है। इसके अतिरिक्त कुछ भी  
नहीं है।

डा जैनकिन्स को अपने उपर्युक्त  
कारिकाओं विचारों के कारण अब  
की तथ्याकविष्ट धर्मसभा के कट्टर-  
पक्षियों की आलोचना का भी शिकार  
होना पड़ा है। अपनी इस आलोचना  
की प्रतिष्ठा में डाक्टर साहब का  
कथन है—“लेखक है कि धर्म के  
विषय में लोग सचाई को आर्य अन्य  
कर स्वीकार करने की बात करता है,  
और यह अत्यन्त प्रभावक स्थिति है।”

प्राप्ता है कि प्रकट जन और  
विशेषकर हमारे ईसाई बहुत दुःख  
के विशप डा जैनकिन्स के सर्वोपर  
आधारित उपर्युक्त विचारों पर  
गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करेंगे।

## हमारा लक्ष्य

—: पं० विहारीलाल शास्त्री —

न त्वाह कामये राज्य, न स्वर्ग, न पुनर्भवम् ।

काश्यपे तु सप्तस्थानां प्राप्तीनामस्ति नाशनाम् ॥

**भावार्थ** —हम न राज्य चाहते हैं, न स्वर्ग, न मोक्ष, मात्र अधविश्वास से पीड़ित जनता को स्वस्थ सत्य मार्ग पर हमें लाना है।

**सम्पादकीय—**

अफसोस ! इन्हें तो खून करना है दयानन्द की उम्मीदों-का

धार्मिकता के इतिहास में एक समय ऐसा था जब वेदों के प्रचार प्रसार, वैदिक ऋषि के प्रशुद्धि जर्जन तथा शास्त्रों की के वर्यें एक अभिव्यक्ति, दुराचारों पर करारी नोट्स तथा एक भावपूर्ण गमगमा रहता था। धार्मिकता में वेद प्रचार की दृष्टि रहती थी। उपदेशक, ब्रजनीक तथा धर्मार्थीगण एक निराला डोलावण के रूप में रहते थे। वेदों में धार्मिकता के अन्वयों को पृथक् करने में एक धार्मिकता भावना का मुख्य कर्तव्य है। लोग वेदों पर धारण करने को उतारने रहते थे प्यारें रहते थे। राष्ट्रीय जीवनधारा में धार्मिकता में कान्ति का विभुषण प्रयास जागरण प्रारंभ होता था हवावा प्रसार का। नर्यें यही नास प्रजा करती थी—

‘आय हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म ।

ओ३म्' हमारा देव है सत्य हमारा कर्म ॥'

[illegible]

ममाजी में भगवद् भक्त रात दिन तहकीर होती है,  
न वो तहकीर होती है न वो तहकीर होती है।  
रखा गहन पर वो अशिया की शमशीर होती है।  
जो होती है तो हूँ एक बात बेतासीर होती है।

## धर्मपरिवर्तन के लिए विदेशी सहायता

इस नव्य की पुष्टि में अनेकों प्रमाण मिल चुके हैं कि विभिन्न विधायी सङ्गठन अपनी तथाकथित समाज सेवा सम्बन्धी योजनाओं की भाव में प्रायः विदेशी धन (महायुता) का 90 प्रतिशत भाग धर्मपरिवर्तन तथा अन्य राष्ट्र विरोधी कार्यों में व्यय करत है।

तमिलनाडु का मीनाक्षीपुरम हो या उत्तरप्रदेश का आजमगढ़ बिहार का राजमहान का आदिवासी बहुल क्षेत्र हो या फिर समुद्रतटीय प्रदेश गोवा — इस पैम की गानी छाया को आश देख सकत है ।

मानवता का नाम पर अर्थात् बन्धों के तथाकथित 'पवित्र दूह' के सवातक इन 'दूह' द्वारा ईसाई-प्रचारकों का एक नई धोखे तैयार करना है। मिशनरी सम्प्रदाय का सेवा-धर्म ठग है। इनकी सेवा का एक ही उद्देश्य है—प्रभुत्व। श्रीर धर्मप्रवर्तन का अर्थ है राष्ट्रीयता परिवर्तन। इनका लक्ष्य है 'आन्दोलन'। धीरे धीरे अपने इस लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति हेतु मानव सेवा का मुखौटा बन प्रयोग कर रहा है।

क्या जैन्गियर और इना के हत्यारे कभी मानवता के पुजारी हो सके हैं ?  
प्रारंभ में जाँ पैदाव-डालर का उपयोग धर्मपरिवर्तन और साम्प्रदायिक

नो सेवक रहे हमने न वो तफकार भावी है,  
 कि इस युगमान के तुल्य भुरका वयो, धन बार बाकी रहे ।  
 यही सोचकर रहे तो हो बुका विस्तार वेदो का  
 इन्हें तो बूना करता है दयानन्द की उम्मीदो का ॥ १ ॥  
 जिन्हें सत्कार ये सत्कार क उपाकार करना था,  
 विन्दे दुनिया में वैशेषिक धर्म या विस्तार का ना ।  
 ज्ञानवी भोर प्रकृतो का विन्दे उदार करना था,  
 जिन्दे निज शेष भोर जानि का वेदा भार करना था ।  
 उन्हे वेदो को बाह्यन सर्वे रंकार नैक नैक ।  
 मज्जु धनका मिटाने के गिये तैमर बड़े है ॥ २ ॥  
 यही सोचकर रहे तो हो बुका विस्तार वेदो का  
 इन्हें तो बूना करता है दयानन्द की उम्मीदो का ।  
 जमाना रचन करता था कभी बहु व्यापार था हमन,  
 धर्म के नयन ये हर एक माणियो नयन था हमन ।  
 बज्र धन धार्यो न वो उपकार नहीं मिनती,  
 न वो श्रद्धा न वो हिम्मत नही मिलती ।  
 निरकल्ले ये जो हम वेदो का धनम रखकर,  
 परितो भी पिन्ना होतो क उस पर  
 जोष मजिद पर जान वेते ये दुगमन के जारन की रचन रखकर,  
 हुदते हो ये के पीछे कभी बार कयन रखकर ॥ ३ ॥  
 इन्हें तो बूना करते हो दयानन्द की उम्मीदो का ।  
 यही सोचकर रहे तो हो बुका विस्तार वेदो का  
 जिन्हें सत्कार ये सत्कार क उपाकार करना था,  
 विन्दे दुनिया में वैशेषिक धर्म या विस्तार का ना ।  
 ज्ञानवी भोर प्रकृतो का विन्दे उदार करना था,  
 जिन्दे निज शेष भोर जानि का वेदा भार करना था ।  
 उन्हे वेदो को बाह्यन सर्वे रंकार नैक नैक ।  
 मज्जु धनका मिटाने के गिये तैमर बड़े है ॥ ४ ॥  
 यही सोचकर रहे तो हो बुका विस्तार वेदो का  
 इन्हें तो बूना करता है दयानन्द की उम्मीदो का ।

—राससिंह

दमो के लिये होता है। इसके अनेको प्रमाण हैं। मेरु का तो अभी हाल ही का मामला है।

अधो गत 25 नवम्बर को केन्द्रीय ग्रह राज्य मंत्री श्री विदम्बरम ने लोकप्रभा में बताया कि सन् 1986 में विभिन्न मण्डलों ने 434 करोड़ रुपये विदेशी सहायता के रूप में प्राप्त किये। वित्तनी बिज्ञान धनराशि है वह। जिसके अधिकतम भाग का दुरुपयोग राष्ट्रविरोधी कार्यों में होता है।

मन्त्रार वस्तुस्थिति को जाननी है, समझनी है। समय-समय पर हम विवेकी सहायता के दुसरे। सम्झनी प्रयास की उनके सम्मुख प्रस्तुत किए गए हैं। परन्तु बोटी की राजनीति म कभी धर्म निरूपेता की दुहाई देने वाली सरकार। सब कुछ जानत हुए भी इस विषय के कोई भी उचित कारवाई नहीं करना चाहती।

आजाम बहुस्पति का कथन है—अध्विष्यस्य पूर्व सास्त्राभ्यस्य प्रतीकार  
कामम् (चतुर्थ अ 26) अर्थात् शास्त्रों को मात्र प्रारंभिक ज्ञान होना  
बाह्य, उनके निराकरण की सामर्थ्य भी उसमें होनी चाहिए। किन्तु वेद है  
कि वर्तमान सत्ताधारियों ने उपयुक्त युगों का सर्वथा अज्ञान  
रखा है।  
—दोरेन्द्र धार्य



## 'वैज्ञानिकों की दृष्टि में ईश्वरीय अस्तित्व

— डा. देवदत्त देवासंकर —

साधारण भाषित इतिहास मानते बुद्ध-भाषित एवं परवर्तमान की प्राप्ति के प्रयासों का इतिहास है। कोई भी मनुष्य अपनी संवेदन विधि से पूर्ववर्तमान प्रमाण नहीं उठाता, फलतः साधारण बुद्ध भाषित को ही मान्यता प्राप्त करने प्रारम्भ करता रहता है। यह भाषित प्राप्ति की भावना ही मनुष्य की व्यावस्थित इच्छाओं व मूल्यकाव्याओं से ऊपर उठकर कुछ असाधारण रूप की कार्य को उद्देशित करती है। इसी प्रवृत्ति के कारण मनुष्य असाधारणता प्राप्त करने में ही पृथ, कर्मवैशेष परधान-वैशेष को प्राप्ति कर लेता है। परधानता प्राप्त होने पर निरन्तर प्रवृत्त रहता ही है साधु ही प्रेरक भाषित ही है। अतएव महान् सार्वजनिक अस्तित्व से ईश्वर को 'साधु-प्रेरक' माना है। प्रभु की इसी प्रेरणा से मनुष्य अपनी-कर्मों का निरन्तर निष्पादन, एव ही असाधारण जगत् तथा इसलोक सत्यत्व अपनी की चेष्टाओं के लिए साधक की उत्पत्ति है।

मानव जीवण एव विषय की प्रहेलिका की सुलभताने की प्रक्रिया ने हम  
हस्ते निर्यातक प्रकृति को हितपूर्वक कर देते हैं। यह छीन छीन प्रकार के जैसे कि  
पैसाव की कृति को घुलाने में हम अपना बाहर का विनियोजक करते हैं। दाहिने  
की मानवा और परमात्मा की मकारना गुराहण मात्र है। धातुमिक युग में  
वैज्ञानिकों ने इस धातुमिक की भी स्पष्ट उपलब्धि है। कि इस समय धातुमिक की  
सोई यह रचना किनी धातुमिक प्रकृति के द्वारा की गई है। समक कारण  
एक ऐसी धातुमिक प्रकृति है जिसकी नेवना का प्रभाव एवं वैज्ञानिक  
समय परिलक्षित हो रहा है। इससे ही नेवना का प्रभाव कि प्रकृति के ही ए  
हृदय का कथन है कि परमात्मा-हृदय की विषय की मनुष्यमनुष्य है। लेकिन  
हम स्वयं का विनियोजक को सुष्टि के प्रारम्भ में ही भारतीय मनीषियों ने ध्यानी  
तप साधना ही कर दिया था। ईश्वरीयमित्र के ग्रन्थ मात्र में धातुमिक  
वैज्ञानिकों की प्राप्ति मनुष्यत्व कथन प्राप्ति है—“मनुष्यत्वमस्य सर्वं सत्त्विकम्-  
बन्धनात्तुम्।” बन्धनीय कथन कारण जन्म में यह वैश्व यह तत्त्व  
साधित है। समस्त विषये को एक ही सत्ता मान्यता अनुसृत है। तत्त्व  
सुष्टि के भीतर एक समस्त सत्ता मान्यता है, यह सुष्टि ईश्वर का प्राधान्य मान्यता  
है। सारा जगत्, सारा ब्रह्म ईश्वरकर्म है, मनुष्यमान्य है। क्षान्तीय उपनिषद् में  
की भी वीर को क्षत्रप ईश्वरकर्म ब्रह्म का कर्म कहा है।

मेकिन यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि हम ज़िन्दगी की मञ्चपाया एव प्रज्ञा प्रसन्न नहीं का तब हम सम्मान नहीं करते जब तक की हमें विवेकी उत्तर प्रदान नहीं करते। यह तो सत्य है कि हमें सत्य की मञ्च प्रकट करने के लिए सदैव तत्पर रहना चाहिये किन्तुकारी नहीं होना चाहिये तत्प्राप्त मञ्चपायो की प्रत्येक बात को वैधानिक रूप मानकर अज्ञानमुक्तता करणा पूर्ववत् ही है। यह एक प्रकार की मानसिक दास्ता की है कि हम मञ्चपायो को ज़रा प्रमाणित करने वाले एव अपने नीच को मञ्चपायो है। हम ज्ञानमहाकर चाहिये कि उपनिषदों की अद्भुतता एव अमूल्यता का कथन किया, एपरन्तु मे नीची की मान्यमोक्षा का बोध किया— हम हमने भी अद्भुत मञ्चपाया हमारे उपनिषद ब्रह्म महान् जान्ना चाहिये है। यह हमारे लिए मोक्षोन्मीलन है। यद्यपि आज हम की भावनाकता है कि हम अपने मनुष्यों का मञ्चपाय है। ऐतिहासिक उपनिषद की उन्मोषणता है— 'पशो का इमानि प्रदानि जायते, मेन जातानि गोत्रानि जायते' प्रत्यस्य उपनिषदि तब विजितस्वतत्त्व तत्त्व 'असौ' अस्मत्त्वे ही हमस्वतत्त्व एवम् उत्पत्ति है जो एव ही मेनिशो को मञ्चपाय है। इसी तथ्य को प्रतीकित सिम्बल इस रूप मे लिखते है कि ईश्वर स्वयं विजयाना जायत्य जति है जो नामयमे है और उत्पत्ति मनुष्य को प्रत्यक्ष उपनिषत् करता है।

अब नो ज्ञाने ज्ञाने वैज्ञानिक लोग जिन्हो धनीस्वरवादी माना जाता है ये श्री ईश्वरीय सत्ता को तर्क की कलाटी मे कसकर स्वीकार करने लगे हैं । उनके मत से परमाणुयो को व्यवस्थित होकर अणु बनने मे धीर अणुयो से जीवित कोशिकायेँ उनसे मानव पर्यन्त उच्च उच्चतर उच्चतम जीवित देह बनने तक प्रत्येक स्वर पर एक सृजनारम्भ काद्यम है वास्तव को स्वीकार करना

भावस्थैः । निम्नत एव कुत्रपालक प्रविष्टा इति विज्ञेयं कुत्रावस्थित एव  
 विज्ञेयं परस्मै तन्वा पूर्व भाष्ये मेव भासा । एक भाष्यम् आनन्विष्टम् । ज्ञानोर्वा  
 को विना निष्पन्न एव वास्तविकतु ह्युपाने परितोषे भाती एव नृप भाषि  
 इ । वैशामिनिश्च ये पद्यार्थे ज्ञाने के ज्ञाने वैराग्ये हो । सत्ता इति ज्ञानो हो  
 विष्णुत्वान्वा का कात्या होती । तेनैव नृप ज्ञानो भाषा इ । ये विना निष्पन्न  
 को कदा इ । वैशामिनि सोच ये रहस्यम् तथा भाष्यान्वा नृप ।  
 श्राते भौतिक भवार्थ के नृप मे भाष्यान्विष्टम् ज्ञाने विष्णुत्वाने इति कोई  
 भवभूत की तत्त्व विज्ञा प्रदान करता इ । इत भाषि वैशामिनि, वास्तविक एव  
 नृपश्चैव नृपश्चिन्तन सीमा एव की निष्पन्ने एव वा भाते इति ईश्वर की सृष्टि  
 सत्त्वकी ही नृप भाषि इती वीर ज्ञाने होत सत्त्विक एव सत्त्वानि की सत्ता ही

हस्त स्वल्प कमल का घुमावक, निगमक परस्मिन्ना परमार्था ही है—  
 तस्य तस्य की अनुभूति के लिए मनुष्य को योग की भाषा के समामिश्र होना  
 पड़ेगा। निगमिक्क समामिश्र तस्य प्रत्यक्षानुभवा मिश्र द्वारा ही चामत्कारल होना  
 पड़ेगा। तस्य प्रयोगों का व्यापक ज्ञान उक्ति होता है। और इस ज्ञान की  
 उपलब्धि चामत्कारल प्रयोग से होती है। यह चामत्कारल तस्य या ईश्वर तस्य  
 कर्म के जीवन की शक्ति का कारण होते हुए भी बारिष्ये है। चामत्कारल  
 चामत्कारल तस्य से निष्पत्ति है तस्येति तस्य का निवेष्टिगी योग। जहा तस्य प्रत्यक्ष ही  
 जाता है जहा अनुभूति सत्यता होती है। इसीनिष्ठे तो कर्म के जहा है—नैवा  
 अनुभूतिपरिपरायण। अर्थात् चामत्कारल का ज्ञान तस्य द्वारा तस्य ही होता  
 होता। तस्य का जहा कर्म चामत्कारल परमार्था निवेष्टिगी तस्य ही। अननुभूत तस्य  
 मुक्ति ही मुक्ति परतत्त्वतः — जहा जाता है कि इतिनिष्ठे से परे नम, नम से परे  
 मुक्ति और मुक्ति से भी परे चामत्कारल तस्य है। केनोपनिषत् के मत में उस जहा  
 तस्य तस्य तस्य से, परमार्था योग ही तस्य प्रत्यक्ष प्राप्त है। जहा के जहा  
 है “परमार्थाचानि अनुभूतये स्वयम्भूतत्वात् पराव स्वयति नान्तर्गतानि”  
 कविचरिटर इत्येकालानामेवाम्ना नुतचमत्कारल विष्णुत्वं चामत्कारल स्वयम्भूत  
 परमार्था नम तस्य की अनुभूति चामत्कारल है जहा तस्य द्वारा ही और ही  
 वेकता है, चामत्कारल जहा को जहा वेकता। को जहा तस्य प्रत्यक्ष अनुभूत की  
 हज्जा कर्मता जहा अपनी चामत्कारल इतिनिष्ठे पर संयोग कर चामत्कारल को वेक  
 पाता। इस भाति चामत्कारल के ही परमार्था सामाकारल चामत्कारल है।

उपभुक्त विमलेश्वर से यही निष्कर्ष निकलता है। दृष्टि के प्रारम्भ से वेदधर्मात्मा द्वारा उद्घोषित तत्त्व को ही सत्य माने शास्त्र का वैज्ञानिक युग स्वीकार कर रहा है कि इस क्षणमान स्वयं जगत् का एक वैतन्त्र नियामक तत्त्व है। जिसे ईश्वर के नाम से पुकारा जाता है। वैज्ञानिकों, दार्शनिकों एवं पण्डित महर्षियों का समवेत उद्घोष है—“ब्रह्मदेव विश्वविधि परिणम”।

### “हैडमास्टर की आवश्यकता”

सहायता तथा भाष्यता प्राप्त भाष्य उच्च माध्यमिक विद्यालय के लिए एम ए/बी ए तथा ह्यारर सेल्फस्टडी कक्षाओं के विद्यार्थी का पाठ्य कार्य का अनुपम प्रथम उद्देश्यी विद्यार्थी के प्रशान्ताभ्यास के उपर कार्य करने के पाठ्य कार्य के अनुपमी योग्य प्रकाशक तथा निम्नलिखित भाष्य यथावी है।  
इसभास्टर प्रार्थिका वेतन 1720/- वेतन शुल्का 1720-3350 के आधारिका है । विस्तृत प्रारोहक वनी, भाष्य सभाया शिक्षा सभा, प्रारोहक की भाष्य प्रस्तुत करें ।

**श्रद्धा विधोत्सव मेला**

हर वर्ष की भांति इस वर्ष की 15, 16, 17 फरवरी 1988 को महर्षि दयानन्द जन्म स्नान उत्सव में श्री मेधा मन्दाता जा रहा है। उत्सव जाने वाले श्री मेधा मन्दाता के कुशल का उनके जीवन का प्रथम उत्सव ट्रस्ट की ओर से निवेदन किया जाता है।

—सुभाषचंद्र बोस





**वेदोक्तिलोचनमूलम्**

वेद ही धर्मस्य धर्म का मूल है ।

सत्य को ग्रहण करने और धर्मस्य के  
छोड़ने में सर्वदा उत्थात रहना चाहिए  
—महर्षि दयानन्द

दयानन्दशब्द : 162

मुद्रित संख्या 1972949087

। ओ३म् ।

# आर्य पुनर्गठन

पाणिनिक पत्र

“धर्म्यं हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म ।  
ओ३म् हमारा वेद है, सत्य हमारा कर्म ॥”

**कुष्वस्तोविश्वंभाष्यम्**

सकल जगत् को धर्म्य बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :

समाज की वर्तमान एवं  
भविष्य में पैदा होने वाली  
समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत  
रखते हुए धर्म्यसमाज का  
पुनर्गठन करना है ।

वर्ष : 3 मंगलवार, 15 दिसम्बर, 1987  
अंक 20 पृष्ठ सं-4338/84 II

धर्म्य मित्रादभयम् अमित्रादभयं ज्ञातादभयं परोक्षान् ।  
अभयं नक्तमभयं दिवा न सर्वो ब्राह्मणं मम मित्रं भवन्तु ॥

प्रीत कृ 9 अंकत 2044

वार्षिक मू 15/-, एक प्रति 60 पैसे

## मैक्समूलर - विवेकानन्द - दयानन्द

— स्वामी विवेकानन्द सरस्वती —

‘धर्म्यं जगत्’ के 30 अक्षरों  
1987 की प्रकाशित संस्कृत विवेकानन्द  
के भाष्य में ‘ब्रह्मचारिण’ में विवेक  
स्वामी विवेकानन्द के एक लेख का  
कुछ अक्षरों प्रकाशित हुआ है । स्वामी  
विवेकानन्द ने लिखा है—

“मैक्समूलर का भाष्य पर  
चिन्ता अनुप्राण है । वेदा अनुप्राण  
मैं उसका एक प्रतिफल भी होता  
हो मैं अपने को धर्म्य मानता । मैंने  
उन्हें कहा—‘धर्म्य भारत कर्म का  
रहे हैं ?’ भारतवासियों की चिन्ता-  
राशि को धर्म्य ने ओषो के सामने  
बर्णन रूप में उपस्थित किया है ।”  
मुद्र मुद्रि का मुद्र उज्ज्वल हो  
उठ ।

इस लेख में स्पष्ट है कि स्वामी

विवेकानन्द के अनुसार मैक्समूलर—

1 कर्म है ।

2 उन्हें भारत की चिन्तनराशि  
को यथा रूप में उपस्थित किया ।

3 उनका भारत पर इतना  
अनुप्राण था कि उसका एक प्रतिफल  
पाकर भी विवेकानन्द अपने धर्म्यको  
धर्म्य माने ।

यह विवेकानन्द का कहना है  
परन्तु स्वयं मैक्समूलर का अपने  
विषय में क्या विचार था यह उनके  
लिखित शब्दों से पता चलता है—

मैक्समूलर के शब्दों में A large  
number of Vedic hymns are  
childish in the extreme, de-  
dusious, low and common  
place” (Chips from a Ger-

man workshop, Ed 1866  
p 27) धर्म्य वैदिक मुक्तों की  
कभी उम्मा विस्तृत बर्णनानों, बर्णन  
निकट और मातृनी है ।

जिस उद्देश्य में मैक्समूलर ने  
वेदों का अनुवाद किया, उनके विषय  
में उनके अपनी पत्नी को लिखा—

This edition of mine  
and the translation of the  
Veda will, hereafter, tell to  
a great extent on the fate of  
India It is the root of their  
religion and to show them  
what the root is, I feel sure  
is the only way of uprooting  
all that has sprung from it  
during the last three thousand

years” (Life and Letters of  
F Maxmueller, Vol I, chap  
XV, p 34)

धर्म्य वेदा यह संस्करण और  
वेदों का अनुवाद भारत के धर्म्य को  
उत्तर तक प्रभावित करेगा । यह उनके  
धर्म्य का रूप है और उन् (भारतीयों  
को) यह दिखाता कि यह धर्म्य नैसा  
है वगैरह हमारा धर्म्य में इन से  
उत्पन्न होने वाली सब बातों की  
मुद्रस्थिति उजागर करेगा का एकमात्र  
उपाय है ।

भारत सचिव (Secretary of  
State for India) के नाम 16  
दिसम्बर 1868 का, लिखे अपने  
पत्र में मैक्समूलर ने लिखा—

मेरे (मुद्र 6 पृष्ठ)

विचाराला पदवाचियों पर लाठी प्रहार से धर्म्य जगत् में भारी रोष

## राजस्थान आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा के बरिष्ठ उप-प्रधान आचार्य दत्तात्रेयजी आर्य द्वारा विरोध ध्यक्त

आर्य समाज के बरिष्ठ नेता तथा हरियाणा के मू पू शिक्षा  
मन्त्री स्वामी धर्म्यनेश के नेतृत्व में सती प्रथा तथा नारी उत्पीड़न  
के विरोध में धर्म्योजित पद धर्म्यको प्रभावक विचाराला से 25  
मौल मुद्रि पर ही रोष विवे जाने तथा महिलाओं और बच्चों सहित  
पद धर्म्यियों पर पुनर्गठन द्वारा लाठी चार्ज के समानादि से समस्त धर्म्य  
जगत् में रोष की लहर सी फैल गई है । स्वामी धर्म्यनेश द्वारा 144  
धारा का उल्लंघन कर विचाराला की सीमा से प्रवेश न करने तथा  
समस्त 100 धर्म्य संस्थाधियों के नेतृत्व में धर्म्योजित इस धर्म्ययान  
में सहभागीत लोगों द्वारा पूर्ण शांति बनाये रखने के धर्म्यवासन के  
बावजूद सरकार द्वारा उठाया गया यह कथम उसकी निर्वसता और  
बाधयता का ज्वलन्त उदाहरण है । एक और सरकार सती जैसे  
अमानवीय धर्म्य के विरुद्ध कायम बनाती है और दूसरी ओर इस  
प्रकार के धर्म्यिक अध विधायी के विरुद्ध जनमत जागृत करने के  
प्रयत्न को बलपूर्वक रोकती है यह दोनो परस्पर विरोधी नीतिया  
इस बात का सबूत है कि वास्तव में अपने राजनैतिक स्वार्थ की पूर्ति  
के लिये सत्ताधारी इस केवल विधाने के लिये ही सती धर्म्यि कुुरी-  
तियों का विचाराला करने का दावा मान करती है ।

काजून और व्यवस्था बनाये रखने का दायित्व सरकार पर है  
इसका स्पष्ट धर्म्य यह है कि जो लोग इस प्रकार की पदवाचना जैसे  
अपने कानूनी अधिकार का उपयोग करते हैं उससे बाधा पहुँचाने  
वाले तथ्यों को रोकना चाहे और यदि वे हिंसा और तनाव उत्पन्न  
करते हैं तो उनके विरुद्ध कड़ी कार्यवाही की जाये किन्तु धर्म्य समाज

जैसे धर्म्यिक और सामाजिक सुधार धर्म्योन्मत्त द्वारा धर्म्यय सरकार  
की तथा कथित सती विरोधी नीति के समर्थन में धर्म्योजित जन  
जागरण के इस धर्म्ययान का कुछ मुद्रि भर सती समर्थक लोगों  
द्वारा विरोध किए जाने के कारण धर्म्य और व्यवस्था के नाम पर  
इस प्रकार का प्रतिध्व स्पष्ट रूप से सती प्रथा के समर्थकों के लिये  
शुला प्रोत्साहन है । इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि कुछ प्रसामाजिक  
तथा विरोधी तत्व हिंसा और अशांति का महारा नेकर किसी भी  
समाज सुधार के कार्य को रोकने में समर्थ होंगे । इस पद वाचना से  
धर्म्य समाज धर्म्यनेश की ओर से भी 51 व्यक्तियों का एक जवा  
सम्पत्ति है । पुनर्गठन द्वारा पदवाचियों पर किये गए लाठियों के प्रहार  
से अन्धधर्म में इन धर्म्यियों के सम्बन्धी हो नही अन्य लोगों में भी  
चिन्ता और रोष व्याप्त है । धर्म्य समाज धर्म्यनेश के प्रधान तथा  
धर्म्य प्रतिनिधि सभा के बरिष्ठ उप प्रधान एवं मार्गदेशक धर्म्य  
प्रतिनिधि सभा के अतरम सदस्य धर्म्यय दत्तात्रेय जी आर्य ने  
पदवाचियों को इस प्रकार रोके जाने और उन पर लाठीचार्ज किये  
जाने के विरुद्ध एक व्यक्तित्व जारी किया है और राज्य सरकार  
तथा केन्द्रीय सरकार को तार द्वारा आवह किया है कि वे फौरन  
इस पदवाचियों पर से प्रतिध्व हटाकर उनके अपने अधिकार का  
वास्तुपूर्ण उपयोग करने दे और कभी सर्वे के इस मौसम में नये  
मैदान में बैरा डाले महिलाओं और छोटे बच्चों तथा धर्म्यसिनों  
के समूह की सुरक्षा और स्वास्थ्य के लिए कदम उठाये ।

निदेशक : दत्तात्रेय धर्म्य

प्रधान सभाधक

रासाहिह

संपादक : वीरेन्द्र कुमार धर्म्य

कार्य : 20011



## मनजीव

— महाकवि रविशङ्कराण देगोर —

महिलाओं को सती साजीव रखने के लिए पुरुषों ने अपनी समस्त सभ्यता को उसके विषय खड़ा कर रखा है। इसी कारण महिलाओं के प्रति पुरुषों की कोई जबाब देही नहीं है। इसी व्यवहार से पुरुषों की कानुनव्यवस्था ही प्रकट होती है।

सम्पादकीय—

## एक नवीन सामाजिक क्रान्ति की आवश्यकता

आज मनुष्य समाज में नैतिक एवं सामाजिक जीवन मूल्यों का तेजी से क्षय हो रहा है। सामाजिकता की भावना कमजोर होनी जा रही है। स्वार्थ परापूर्णा विकराल रूप धारण कर समाज के डारने की मण्ट करने पर तुरी हुई है। धर्म के नाम पर नती प्रथा और नर बलिघाट जैसे और नारकीय कथन हत्याकाण्ड सुनाई पड़ रहे हैं। धार्ये दिन बहून बेटीयों की हटन भी बलिघाटे पर जोते जी जल मरने को मजबूर किया जा रहा है। प्रथमा उक्त प्रभावशाली यमगाथा और पीडाघात के जाल में जकड़ कर उत्पीड़ित किया जा रहा है। बाबू बिनाहू तथा धनयेय बिनाहू खप भी बखले से बाजा भाजो न माय सम्पन्न हो रहे हैं। बन्धन जलम धरणी की कर्ष परिचारी से प्रभियाण भाना जाता है। विधवाएँ सब भी प्रपने दाखल पु खमय जीवन पर घाट-घाट धाँस रहा रही हैं। कई मा और बहनों को डायन, पुरैन और पैमाचिनी बहुरार पखरो से माग जा रहा है। प्रथमा जिन्या ही धाम का भट्टी में मोका जा रहा है। पराई हट कर भी पुन अपना प्रभाव जमा रहा है। य समस्त सामाजिक कुपीनियाँ और अवधिस्थास हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन को खोखला कर उसे जीर्णोद्धार बना रहे हैं। इन दृक्कीसवीं सदी के स्थान पर प्रभियाणित के शिकार होकर पुन समष्टी और अग्रारी सदी की भाँते बनने लगे हैं।

राजनीति बिना दूरदगिता का परिचय दिए हुए हट बात को प्रथमा बताते ह और केवल सलुटोकरण की रीति अपनाते हैं। भोटा की राजनीति इस मनु श्रम प्राण लक्ष्मी को जीवन शक्ति प्रदान करने में लगी हुई है।

इनहो सामाजिक कुपीनियों और अवधिस्थासों के विरुद्ध जनमत जाग्रत करने के लिये हम खतरे में सबको समग्र और सज्जमान करने के लिये मारी उत्पीडन तथा सती प्रथा के विरुद्ध प्रथमा हटाया जन जागरण का प्रभियाण प्रारम्भ किया गया है। इसने धनगत विनाह 5 दिसम्बर 87 ई से 23 दिसम्बर 87 ई तक धार्मिक जनत के मुप्रतिष्ठ सत्यानी एवं धाम नेता स्यानी धर्मविरोध तथा माधेवैक सभा के प्रधान स्यानी धानय बोध जयन्ती के नेतृत्व म 101 सत्यानियों एवं समाज सेवियों द्वारा भारत की राजधानी

दिल्ली से रूपकवर बहून स्वयं विबरतास तत्प प्रथमा प्रारम्भ हुई है जिसका समाज के अधिकांश वर्गों में जोर और से स्वागत किया है। धार्मिक समाज प्रजेवर का भी एक जल्पा 51 सदस्यीयजल्पा। इस पथ यात्रा में सहमिलित हुआ है।

सुभाषित की प्रबलता महुरो में तो बोधी कम हुई है। परन्तु गरीबों में धर्म की यमलप सुदाकुल की घटनाएँ होती रहती हैं। बिहार, उत्तरप्रदेश, मध्यप्रदेश तथा बन्धा-कन्धा दखिल के राज्यों में भी हुरिजनों के मकान जलाने या उननी हत्याघातों के समाचार मिलते रहते हैं। उत्तर भारत में धाम भी नई बने बने प्रसिद्ध मन्दिरों म हुरिजनों म प्रथम निषिद्ध है।

मादी बिनाहों में किन्तुलबकी दिवाबा, लानबील, भोड एवं प्रसलीन हुरिजनों वाल माग, सराब का सेवन धार्मिक बहून बड नये हैं। मोमा म तथा महुरो में भी सरहवी दलभो प्रथम मूल्य भोजन, मोहदर, मगोय धार्मिक की कुप्रथाएं प्रभी भी प्रभना अस्तित्व बनाये हुए हैं।

बादमभ, टोना ध्याय तथ-मथ टोटवा कण्डुक, भोरा, प्रथमा ताबीज, कन्धा धार्मिक या प्रचलन की नेजी से बड हो रहा है। बने बडे प्रथमासल्य लुप्त गये। किन्तुन बो तेजी से बडा परन्तु मनुष्यों का वैधानिक एवं प्रगति-शील इतिहास विकसित नहीं हो स्या।

भाड, तीर्थ, मूर्ति पूजा गुरुधम, लोनी पूजा, प्रकतार भाव, पीर-पैमाचरी यमनारी की पूजा बाधि अवधिस्थासों को म्बु खला की यमने का माग यने से रही है।

इन विषय परिस्थितियों में सामाजिक क्रान्ति तथा एक और पुनर्जागरण का धान्यनन की परचावश्यकता है। धार्मिक समाज जैसे सामाजिक सुधारवादी सगठन को फिर पुन जीवातानन और बलिघाती स्वरूप धारण कर इन सामाजिक मुग्राहों और अवधिस्थासों पर कपारी चोट करनी है। मात्स्यनी की पुरातन परम्परा को पुन अक्षित करे जिससे कि पीरागिक पश्चिमतल्य प्रथमा तथाकथित धर्माचार्य लगेगा योको के नाम पर मनमाना व्यवस्थाएँ नहीं के सके तथा इन मुग्राहों के विरुद्ध प्रथम जनमत जाग्रत हो सके।

## नरबलिघाट : हिन्दू धर्म पुनः मानवता की अदालत में

जैसे तो सनार के धन्य महजहो मता में की अवधिस्थास और कुप्रथाएँ देवने को मिननी हैं। प्रथम तथाकथित मानवतावादी (?) हिन्दू धर्म इन सब म विरोधमणि है? आडम्बरो और कुपीनियों के मामले में सनार में इन्सकी कोई सानी मही है।

धरती तक 'लार्ड' नामक कुप्रथा की चर्चा भी समाप्त नहीं हो पाई है कि 'नर बलि' जैसी कुप्रथा अपना भीषल रूप लेकर हमारे मनुष्य उपस्थित हो गई है। बाबूने बताया है कि तल पांच वर्गों में ही भारतवर्ष में प्रति वर्ष 10 'नरबलि काण्ड' हुए हैं। इनसे हमारे समाज की मानवीयता के प्रति सबलनगीलता का पता चलता है।

महात्मा बुड को यक जैसे पवित्र धर्म की धालोचना करने का अधिकांश सम्प्रदायीन हिन्दू धर्म के सपाकथित ठकेबाग में स्वयं ही प्रदान किया बा। प्रकीक इन लोभों में यख में 'नर बलि' जैसे प्रभावशाली कृत्य को समाविष्ट नर दिया बा। मोरम्बज म मकरम्बज का रोचक किन्ता भी धारणे पीराणिङ नथा शायक से प्रभवय सुना होगा।

मन दिने केरठ व राजस्थान के पीलाभाडा बहुर में धन के पिपाडु हरिदो ने दो भागून बच्चों की दलि खडा दी। केरठ के मसीख 'काठ' ने तो प्रयत्ना की भी साजित नर दिया। धन प्रभिय के लिए माता-पिता ने अपने सात बर्षीय पुत्र मसीख को बलि 'कामी' को खडा दी।

महर्षि दयानन्द ने धर्म के नाम पर फीमे मणी अवधिस्थानों और

कुपीनियों पर खला से प्रहार किया बा। हिन्दू धर्म में धन्य मगो व मजहबो की तुलना में धार्मिक कुपीनियों और अवधिस्थास बाए जाते हैं। और इनके नाम के धार्मिक धर्म से ही नहीं प्रपितु मानवताओं से भी इसका एक धृगासल्य रूप जमगा है। इसलिये अधि के सतीक्षा बा विवेचन का प्रमुख विषय भी हिन्दू धर्म ही रहा।

हिन्दुओं को पुन धार्मिक की और अवरर बना ही म्बुधिर का लय रहा। उनके परम्पूत धार्मिकमात्र में हिन्दुओं को पुन धार्मिक बनाके का बीडा उठाया, परन्तु परिछाम विवेक उल्लेखनीय नहीं रहा। और रहे की तो कैसे? कवि के म्बदो में—

एक लोटा हो तो धन सखा,  
यहाँ तो कुए में धान मिलाई।

पुण्याएँ स्वामी नयप्रकाश जी द्वारा हुये उद्युक्त सवर्ष में दो लुख प्राण हुए हैं। पुत्र मित्र हैं

धर्म = मिथ्याचारिता = साम्प्रदायिक धर्म

वैदिक धर्म = अवधिस्थास = हिन्दुत्व

परमेस्वर से प्रार्थना है, 'कासी' तथा इन जैसे धान्य देवी-देवताओं के अवधिस्थान से प्रकट 'नर-बलि' जैसे प्रभावशाली एवं बर्बर हल करने वालों की विधिवल को मानवता से मुक्त दिखाने और उनमें धार्मिक के नाम उत्पन्न करें।

—बीरेन्द्र धार्मिक









11/12/87  
 ११/१२/८७  
 ११/१२/८७

### बेवोमिसीसोवर्गकुलम्

वेद ही समस्त धर्म का मूल है ।

सत्य को बहस करने और असत्य के शोकों से सर्वत्र उन्नत रहना चाहिए  
 —बह्मिन् ब्रह्मचर्य

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। ओ३म् ।

# आर्य पुनर्विज्वा

पाक्षिक पत्र

“आर्य हमारा नाम है, वेद हमारा धर्म ।  
 ओ३म् हमारा वेद है, सत्य हमारा धर्म ॥”

गुण्यस्तोत्रविद्यमानम्

सकल जगत् को धार्य बनाए

हमारा उद्देश्य :

समाज की वर्तमान एवं भविष्य में पैदा होने वाली समस्याओं को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए आर्यसमाज का पुनर्वसन करना है ।

प्रथम मित्रादभयम् अधिवादभय आताडभय परीक्षात ।

अथवा सत्यवचन दिया न सर्वा भासा नम मित भवन्तु ॥

पीठ मु 11 सन्त 2044

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## अग्निवेश की पदयात्रा : एक निष्पक्ष विहंगावलोकन

—बीरेन्द्र कुमार आर्य—

4 दिसम्बर को कनकपुर के लगे के नाम पर अपने मृत पति के साथ बिना वसा दिए जाने के फलस्वरूप वेद ने नारी अधिकारी व नारी स्वातन्त्र्य को लेकर जो सर्वा प्रारम्भ हुई, उसके स्वामी अग्निवेश की पद यात्रा की उत्पत्ति हुई ।

सन् 1977 में सार्वजनिक सेवा के निष्कासन के बादपुत्र अग्निवेश का पदयात्रा को आर्यसमाज के दौर उठे जातीयता कलह कई प्रश्नों को पैदा करता है । और ईश्वरों साधारण आर्यवर्गीय की पद यात्रा के उपस्थिति के प्रतिरूप स्वामी अग्निवेश जोश की उपस्थिति उन सभी प्रश्नों का समाधान करते हुए स्वामी अग्निवेश के आर्य व्यक्ति को स्वीकार करते हुए उनके निष्कासन को एक नारी पुत्र प्रमाणित करती है । यह भी आर्य-अभाव के लिए एक उपन्यास ही है

कि उनमें पदयात्रा के बहाने ही नारी अपने एक अतिपरायी नेता को पुनः प्राप्त कर लिया ।

पद यात्रा ने नारी अधिकारी के विषय में सभी बहुत को बड़ा एक सार्वक रिखा दी, यही इन्हीं आर्य-समाज के मुखारोपों स्वयं को जब साधारण के व्यापक प्रचार दिया । पहले सभी ने आर्य समाजियों के नेतृत्व में पदयात्रा उन सुदूर शारील जगहों के आर्यसमाज का माय मु जाते मिलती जहाँ अपने स्वातन्त्र्य कात के साथ तक आर्यसमाज का कोई प्रचारक नहीं पहुँच पाया था । पदयात्रा ने इन क्षेत्रों के लोगों ने बह्मिन् ब्रह्मचर्य और आर्यसमाज के प्रति बढ़ा उत्प्रेरक । दूर देश के समाचार पत्रों ने आर्यसमाज के माय की देश के साथ साथी तक एक मुखारोपों आर्यसमाज के रूप में पहुँचा

दिया । अग्निवेश एक्सप्रेस में और नवभारत टाइम्स ने तो इस विषय में धारण्य भी लिखे । यह व्यापक प्रचार तथा आर्यसमाज के लिए कम उप-समर्थि की बात है ?

राजनैतिक दलों के अपने निहित स्वार्थों के लिए सक्रिय रूप के कुछ जाना व्यक्ति कि किसी सामाजिक सत्ता के प्रति निष्ठा को सखिब बना देता है । इसके प्रमाण हमारे पास हैं । बरखिल्ल ईसा कट्टर आर्य-समाजी भी इसका उपयोग नहीं बन सका था । अग्निवेश की नहीं बन सके थे । इस उनकी यह घोषणा कि ‘बसता पार्टी के जाना नेरी सबसे बड़ी भुल थी । भविष्य में मैं न तो किसी राजनैतिक पार्टी में सम्मिलित होऊँगा और न ही कोई चुनाव लड़ूँगा । आर्य समाज के भविष्य में प्रचार-प्रसार के लिए एक नुसल सकेत है ।

सुची मसिमाता ने 28 दिसम्बर के नवभारत टाइम्स में पदयात्रा विषय कुछ मसाल उठाये हैं । आपके मत में हृदय-यथार्थ भाति कर्मकांड ने पदयात्रा का भाष्यारोप के व्यक्ति समग्र व्यक्त किया गया । जो अनुचित था । मसिमाता की के इस विषय में सहमत होते हुए भी हम कहना चाहें कि यथार्थ की की अपनी विवेकपूर्ण और मुक्त हैं । परन्तु स्वामी अग्निवेश के शब्दों में ‘आर्यसमाज’ को ‘हृदय-सत्ता’ आर्यदेव मिनिटिड’ की नहीं बन जाना चाहिए ।’ रचनात्मक कार्य में मान न लेकर मात्र कर्मकांडी बने रहना आर्यसमाज के लिए महाघातक सिद्ध होगा ।

सुची मसिमाता की ने दूसरा प्रश्न तत्पश्चात सामनेरी के काहेरी चरित्र का उठाना है । मैं ज़रूर कहूँ गेह कुछ 6 पर

## पाखण्ड बसा है उनकी रग-रग में

—बीरेन्द्र कुमार आर्य—

मिली के प्रथम समाचारी के बुधवार 25 दिसम्बर की सुबह 11 पंक्ति (1) ने बहुत नारी को खुद करने के माय पर 2040 लिखोवारा (51 लख) कुछ नुसल वसुधा ने प्रमाणित कर दिया ।

विश्व देश के प्रसिद्ध लोग कुछ के विश्व माय ने भी अपनी परीकी के कारण बर्णित हैं, उनी देश ने इस प्रकार कुछ भी बर्णनी करना प्रयास नहीं करूँगे जैसा तो और क्या कहेंगे ?

कुछ विचारविभा विचार इस पदयात्रा को ‘अम’ के वैज्ञानिक कार्य के भी शोभने का पुनरावलोकन कर रहे हैं । लेकिन उनके प्रमुख व्यक्ति ‘अम’ के मूल्य को समझते हैं : ‘अम’ के

हृद के इस सत्यम-मायक की समा-पना करना सुबुद्धा है ।

योग के माय पर भारत के ही

### संकराचार्य को सास्त्रार्थ की चुनौती

आर्य जगत् के मुखनिष्ठ विद्वान डा अमलनकुमार आर्यनी ने दुरी के माकपचार्य स्वामी निरुजनेश को सास्त्रार्थ करने की व्यक्तित्व रूप के चुनौती दी ।

अपनी हान ही ने प्रकाशित पुरिष्का ‘सती प्रथा वेद विरुद्ध’ ने की आर्यनी ने संकराचार्य को ‘सतीवाद वेद विरुद्ध’ इस विषय पर देश की किसी भी जगह सास्त्रार्थ करने की चुनौती दी है । आपकी आचार्य सम्मेली केवल एक लक्ष है कि आचार्य की प्रमाण व्यवस्था पुष्टि के शरीर यह और स्वयं सार्वजनिक हो, बिच्छे घटाक सत्यों द्वारा सुकषणी और नारपीड न की बर सके ।

उल्लेखनीय है कि श्री आर्यनी ने ‘अग्नेय’ के लोग उपाधि (Ph.D) काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के प्राप्त की है ।

नही अग्रिप विश्व भर में सहायित सोपाचार्यों ने बसा पाखण्ड फैला रखा है । लोग के माय पर भारत के ही पाखण्ड

जब साधारण में प्रचारित कर दी, आपकी भारत ने कोई रोकने वाला नहीं है । अग्नेय को भी बाली बना के उजाहरल आपके समस है । इस का यह प्रमाण भी एक स्वयंसेवक पीठेवर आकरदार पदयात्र के प्रतिष्ठा की उपज है । बिद्वान्ता तो यह है कि वारी प्रचार और समापेड पूर्णक किए जाने वाले इन कार्यक्रमों को रोपने के लिए सरकार कोई भी कदम नहीं उठाती । क्या ही चमक होता कि यदि प्रमाण वसुधा ने इस प्रमाणित करने के पूर्व बटना स्वयं पर पहुँच कर उक्त हृद को अपने कर्म में लेकर इस सत्यमय में बना देता ।















given, and the lesson pointed out. But when a band member is caught stealing the second time, he is punished severely, sometimes by death.

### SOME ECONOMIC UNIVERSALS

18. No society has ever been found with *complete* communal ownership of property. Private property in personal belongings is universal. Primitive communism thus appears to be another myth.

19. At the same time private property in the natural resources of the group is rare in primitive societies. No individual has exclusive "rights" in fishing areas or hunting lands on which the livelihood of the group depends. Such property is held jointly, and must be passed on intact. One of the greatest breeders of conflict between the early settlers in America and the Indians was that the Indians followed this more normal definition of property in natural resources, while the settlers followed the special Anglo-Saxon custom. When they "sold" land for a few knives and beads, the Indians thought they were transferring hunting rights only. They were naturally bewildered and angry when the palefaces began to exercise exclusive ownership. The Europeans, on the other hand, felt that the Indians were liars and cheats for not living up to their signed agreements. Another tragic example of cross-cultural misunderstandings that lead to bad blood and war.

20. Free giving is a high virtue in many societies, while the desire for profit is often absent. Thrift and frugality, instead of being virtues, are often considered the reverse. Wealth is frequently used for conspicuous consumption rather than for increasing the stock of capital. The Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver hold prestige contests at feasts called *potlatches*, in which a man tries to shame his rivals by giving away or burning up valuable goods. Veblen played on this theme of conspicuous consumption in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.

21. Some individuals are acquisitive, and so "all societies have had to develop techniques to insure a share of the necessities

to all members." Otherwise the greedier members try to monopolize necessities. All societies place limits on the acquisition of property. A recent technique to limit acquisitiveness in American society is a graduated income tax climbing well above 80 percent.

22. No human culture has remained long at the stark survival level on which classical economists most often base their hypotheses. "Economic Man" in economic theory, who always acts on the principle of the lowest cost, the largest take, and maximum efficiency, can be found only in books. Flesh and blood men elaborate the necessities, and begin to look for non-economic satisfactions as soon as they rise above the level of bare subsistence *Indefinite elaboration is one of the most striking of universals*. Even the Old Stone Age people etched designs on their axes. Where is the economic justification for an Egyptian pyramid, a Maya stela, Chartres Cathedral, or the Washington Monument? Think of the progressive elaboration from a shepherd's pipe to a symphony orchestra! Economic theory which leaves out this universal behavior pattern is useless.

#### PATTERNS FOR GROUP MEMBERS

23. Every normal person needs response from his group. Hermits and recluses are abnormal everywhere.

24. The individual needs recognition. Somewhere in the society he must think he has a useful place, even though a modest one, and that he is filling it adequately. This is demonstrated in the status structure of every society studied, and is of the utmost significance.

25. Prestige is a major motive for individual action, stronger than money in most societies. In American society we have, until lately, combined the two—that is, defined prestige in terms of money. The great depression, more leisure, and the graduated income tax, have relaxed the pecuniary standard a little in favor of other forms of prestige.

26. The individual constantly feels the need for a leader. He wants somebody whom he can trust in charge of his group.

27. The individual shows a deep need in every society for friends of the same sex.

28. He needs a way to work off frustrations. Continually obeying the rules of the culture burns him up from time to time, and to preserve equilibrium, if not sanity, he must let off steam. Americans have no recognized method for doing this, but other societies provide an official Saturnalia, fiesta, or Walpurgis Night, when taboos are ceremonially suspended, and the sky is the limit. Our nearest approach is perhaps the annual convention of the American Legion.

29. In the Victorian era it was fashionable to complain that "uncivilized" people—such as African Negroes or Mexican Indians—did not think logically, and were, therefore, hard to deal with. Only in recent years has it been made perfectly plain that civilized people do not think logically either. The record of the social scientists demonstrates that man is not habitually a logical creature. Shaw once observed that we only use our reason to support our prejudices—but that may be a little strong.

The record also shows that W. I. Thomas, the sociologist, was not far wrong when he wrote of the "four wishes" of mankind a generation ago. Every individual, he said,<sup>1</sup> needed from his group four things: *response, security, recognition, and new experience.*

#### UNIVERSALS OF GOVERNMENT

30 Lanton makes a sharp distinction between "group," "government," and "state." A group or society he defines as any collection of people with a social structure. As we have seen, it is the transmitter of culture to the young, and varies in size from the face-to-face band of a few hundred, to all the people in George Adams's continent. The leaders of the group or society are by definition the government, official or unofficial. No society has ever been found without a government—which seems to leave the philosophical anarchists high and dry. The

<sup>1</sup> In *The Unadjusted Girl*

state, however, is something different. It is the term for a society and its government *organized as a sovereign power, prepared if necessary to wage war*. This gives the state a number of unpleasant powers—unpleasant to the peace and comfort of the individual.

Without war, or the threat of it, we might not have an institution corresponding to "the state" at all. If war is a universal, it follows that the state is one too. But war has not been conclusively established as a universal culture trait. Some societies, like the Arapesh of New Guinea, apparently have never engaged in it.

31. A well-knit, face-to-face band—say among the Plains Indians—holds formal government to the absolute minimum. There is not much for the big chief or the elders to do, for every member knows his place, his duties and rights, and disciplines himself so well that he needs little governing. The most successful nations, observes Linton, are those whose citizens feel toward their country in somewhat the way nature peoples feel toward their tribe. If citizens have this feeling, almost any form of government—monarchy, theocracy, democracy—will work. If they lack it, the finest constitution will be of no avail. Looking around the world today, it appears that the Swedish people have such a feeling. The English have it in their native isle. The French have less of it. The melting pot must bubble a while longer before we get it in America, where a hundred pressure groups still are crying, "Me First."

#### STATUS AND ROLE

Prepare now for a surprising universal! Quoting Linton.

32. "Individual talent is too sporadic and unpredictable to be allowed any important part in the organization of society." Social systems which endure *are built on the average person*, who can be trained to occupy practically any position adequately, if not brilliantly. If roles had always to be filled by Napoleons or Lincolns, they would often not be filled at all. But the social scientists concede that in periods of rapid cultural



change, like the present, many talented people come to the fore. This conclusion upsets some of our most cherished ideas about leadership, yet its logic is hard to answer. The facts, of course, are only too clear. Practically all societies, for nearly all of the time, *do* have mediocre leaders. Just look around the town.

33. Status can be either *ascribed* or *achieved*. You are born to a social position, or you fight your way up to it. In feudal societies status is mostly ascribed, the son of a noble becomes a noble at birth, the son of a serf remains a serf. In America the accent is on achieved status—which is a technical expression for the success story. Any boy can be president, although it helps to be born in a log cabin. (The popular saga fails to remind us that up to now no Jewish boy, and no Negro has been elected president—but this too may change.)

Ascribed status reduces competition, rivalry, and conflict. The citizen is easy in his mind, for he knows where he belongs and is comfortable there. One reason for tension and worry among Americans is the drive to achieve a higher place. Wave after wave of immigrants comes to a city, lands on the bottom with the most menial jobs and lowest pay, and then begins to fight its way up—Irishmen, Scandinavians, Germans, Italians, Poles. In New York, the Puerto Ricans are now on the bottom, even below the Negroes in Harlem. They will not stay there, for the culture bids them climb. The process, though it generates plenty of tension, is an essential part of the American way of life. We do not accept an ascribed status.

Let me repeat that the above 33 universals are the result of a rough and ready analysis, drawn largely from Linton. Qualification may well be in order as new facts come in to the Area Studies File. But when all qualification is made, and the proper scientific caution expressed, the anthropologists' contribution is bound to stand out with luminous clarity. What they have given us is a comprehensive and compelling affirmation of the brotherhood of man.

## Cultural Chasm

In this chapter and the next we will tell two stories of the culture concept in action. The first reports a skillful analysis of the cultural chasm between English-speakers and Spanish-speakers in the American Southwest. The second story concerns a camp of Japanese-Americans, transplanted from their homes on the Pacific Coast during World War II, and how a social scientist helped to prevent a bloody uprising.

Medical personnel in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, have had a difficult time dealing with two-and-a-half million Spanish-speaking people in the area. A social scientist, Dr. Lyle Saunders, with the help of Dr. Esther Brown of the Russell Sage Foundation, studied the situation for some years on the spot, exploring the clash of cultures, and the great trouble which comes when neither group understands the language, customs, and belief systems of the other.<sup>1</sup> Such things as the following are continually happening:

The Spanish-speaking couple who failed to report to the proper medical authorities the birth of a child, and its death one hour later, and who themselves buried the infant in a box in their yard, were not bad or heartless people. They were, of course, picked up by the police when their deed became known. But they do not deserve punishment. Instead they need an opportunity to acquire an understanding of our ways. They did what all people do in the tiny, remote Mexican community from which they came. They did what for them seemed right, what was customary, what they had learned to do from the people among whom they had lived most

<sup>1</sup> See his book, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care*.

of their lives. But in the United States it was not right, not customary.

A cultural chasm indeed—what is right and proper in one society becomes a crime in another.

There are three main groups of Spanish-speakers in the Southwest: (1) Spanish-Americans, who first settled in the Rio Grande Valley some years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. (2) Mexican-Americans who have become United States citizens. They speak the soft Mexican Spanish, but their children are increasingly bilingual. The culture of this group is a mixture of Spanish and Indian. (3) "Wetbacks," who have waded the Rio Grande to become migratory laborers, illegal immigrants, and most welcome to United States farmers with crops to gather.

Dr Saunders' study describes the interrelations between the "Anglo" or English-speaking culture, and the Mexican or Spanish-speaking culture. The findings, intended for the use of medical personnel in the Southwest, are also valuable for similar borderline medical programs anywhere in the world. The World Health Organization, UNESCO, projects in technical assistance, Rockefeller Foundation projects abroad, are already using them to advantage. Beyond that, the findings are dramatic and revealing for anyone trying to look over the walls of his own culture.

### CASE WORK

Doctors and social workers in the Southwest find themselves repeatedly baffled by such situations as these:

A mother who clearly loves her child waits until he is critically ill before calling a doctor.

A patient with t.b. who walks out of the hospital to attend a family wedding.

Children, already retarded in school, do not appear until months after school opens.

A child, dying of leukemia, is taken from the hospital by the family and placed in the care of a *curandera*, or local herb-doctor.

Such cases are hard for "Anglo" professionals to understand. The natural reaction is to call names—"stupid," "ignorant," "childish," "irresponsible," "lazy," from which it is only a step to "genetically inferior." But to the Spanish-speakers, Anglos often seem to be crazy strangers, talking a harsh gibberish and making a fetish of bathing, of being on time, wearing outlandish clothes, their men degrading themselves by doing women's work, and showing alarming ignorance of the real nature of illness and disease.

What the Anglos often overlook is that medicine is a social activity. There are always at least two persons intimately involved, patient and therapist, and their relation takes place within a social system. Medicine in every culture is, and has been for thousands of years, a vast complex of knowledge, belief, skills, roles, ideologies, attitudes, customs, rituals, and symbols, "interlocking to form a reinforcing and supporting system."

When the young doctor down from Ohio laughs off Juan's behavior as ignorant and irresponsible, the doctor really is the ignorant one. Juan is operating within a powerful and complicated system, which has rules about disease and its cure just as deep-seated as in the medical schools of Ohio, and far more ancient. There are at least 46 cures for rheumatism in Mexican folk medicine, some of them very elaborate therapies. Useless? Probably. *But Juan does not believe them to be useless, and it is his belief which the Anglos do not allow for.* He holds to it as firmly as they hold to cortisone.

#### SEVEN DIFFERENCES

Analysis of the cultural chasm between Anglos and Mexicans reveals seven major differences:

1. Language.
2. Attitude toward time.
3. Attitude toward change and "progress."
4. Attitude toward work.
5. Accepting one's fate. Resignation.

6. Relation with one's group.
7. Attitude toward formal organizations.

### *Language*

Language forms the deepest cleavage. Anglos make little attempt to learn Spanish, though the Mexicans are all expected to learn English. It is possible to live out one's life in sections of El Paso, San Antonio, Los Angeles, without knowing a word of English. This creates a vicious circle of misunderstanding. Anglos tend to shout, hoping to make themselves better understood. When the response is only a terrified *no comprendo*, the Anglo concludes that of course the chap must be stupid, he can't understand plain English and ought to go back where he came from. If the chap happens to be a Rio Grande villager, his ancestors got here in 1598.

Dr Saunders quotes the linguist, Benjamin Lee Whorf, showing how the language one learns as a child shapes his thinking throughout life. Our perceptions are organized around verbal symbols, what a person "sees," the meaning it has for him, is tied to the structure of his language and group experience. In English, a clock *runs*, but in Spanish *el reloj anda*, "he walks." This simple difference has enormous implications. If clocks run, there isn't a minute to lose! If they walk, we can take our time.

In Spanish, a worker does not miss the bus, the *bus left him*—the culprit is the bus, not the person. Spanish is replete with this kind of construction—buses leave people, objects lose themselves, automobiles wreck themselves, dishes break themselves by falling away from people. The English-speaker reaches into his box of categories and proceeds to label the Spanish-speaker as "lazy" and "unreliable."

The cultural characteristics of any people are not haphazard. They are all of a piece and built up over the centuries. The function of culture, as we have seen, is primarily utilitarian, to enable the group to survive. Every trait has, or once had, relationship to other traits and some relevance to the environment. New layers can be deliberately added, but old ones cannot easily

be taken away, although they may gradually erode through the process of cultural lag. When people move they take their culture right along, as much a part of them as the hair on their heads.

### *Time*

To understand the Mexicans, says Saunders, we have to look to the old environment as well as the new. In the old environment, either along the Rio Grande or in Mexico, time moved slowly, the corn field was tended, the fiesta celebrated; changes were few. A past without written records is misty, and the future offers no particular promise—"neither anticipated with joy, nor feared."

In the villages the rhythm of life was seasonal rather than diurnal. What one did on a particular day did not matter much; what one did during the year mattered a great deal. There was no money, no boss, no time clock, "no pressure to develop any particular concern with time." This rhythm, of course, is found in handicraft cultures all over the world. Only recently has Western culture pushed pins into citizens, bidding them remember that time is money, clocks *run*, and they must get a move on if they expect to climb the ladder of success. Anglos are oriented toward the future, Mexicans are oriented toward the present and the remembered past. To them, the Horatio Alger story is meaningless, the American success saga a form of mild insanity.

The young doctor says to his Mexican patient: "What day would you like to come to the clinic next week?" How does Juan reply to this strange question? He stammers, runs his sombrero through his hands—not from stupidity, but because he does not think about time in that way at all.

### *Change*

A major belief among Anglos is that change is good and "progress" inevitable. There was little progress along the Rio Grande for 300 years, the villagers had almost no experience of change. The future, if they thought about it at all, was an ex-

tension of the present. Uncertainty, perhaps danger, would come with the new and untried. This is also true in many Russian villages, villages in India and China and Africa.

### *Work*

Dr. Saunders picks up a story from Bennett Cerf to illustrate the attitude toward work. A businessman from New York is strolling along the platform of the railway station in Albuquerque. He sees a group of Pueblo Indian men relaxing in the sun. What a waste of manpower! He goes up to one of them and asks with some asperity why he isn't working.

"Why should I work?"

"To earn money," says the businessman

"Why should I want to earn money?" asks the Indian.

"So you can save it, and some day you will have enough so you can retire and won't have to work any more."

"I'm not working now," says the Indian

When I first went to Mexico I was told that the people were congenitally lazy, and a good many of them did seem to be sitting in the sun. But as I stayed on, collecting material for a book, I realized that Mexicans could work as hard as anybody else, carrying prodigious burdens on their backs, toiling incredibly to cut down the jungle for a new milpa, *if they felt that the work was important*. They seldom worked just for the sake of working, or from a moral compulsion. With Americans, work is tied to personal success, with Mexicans it is tied to the demands of the environment and the rhythm of the seasons.

### *Resignation*

A Mexican is more likely than an Anglo to resign himself to whatever fate brings. This again reflects the ancient village pattern—"a remembrance of men and women who were born, resigned themselves to suffering and hardship along with occasional joys, and died when their time came." There are plenty of never-say-die *caballeros* in Spain and in Mexico City, but most villagers see life in more philosophical terms. They may

not be dedicated to the main chance, but often they seem to have achieved an enviable human dignity.

Death is regrettable but inevitable, and so the Mexican does not call the doctor when the baby dies. To die at home, furthermore, is much better, he thinks, than in a strange, impersonal place called a hospital.

Here is Maria with a serious case of t.b. But she feels quite well. So she cannot be ill, she thinks. If she is not ill, how can she transmit sickness to her children? These Anglo medicos are very foolish. She does not hear the doctor's words saying she is sick, they simply do not come through. The medical concepts which make the words meaningful are unknown to her. She "knows" about sickness, and in terms of her "knowledge"—deep and ancient and complex—she is not sick.

#### IN CONCLUSION

Western ideas of medicine are unquestionably sounder than village ideas. Scientific medicine is bound to prevail in the end. But it will win out sooner, with far less frustration, if Anglo medical workers can be given a working knowledge of the culture concept. In due time, perhaps, the children of Maria and Juan will understand it better too.

About 70 or 80 years ago, biology came in to help Western medicine, revolutionizing the theory of infections, among other things. Today the social scientist is offering medicine another important aid, in such studies as Dr. Saunders'. Students in medical school, he says, should begin with courses on the culture concept, while all large health programs, where more than one culture is involved, should include social scientists for planning and for constant consultation.

Medicine is a social complex, as we have seen, but too many American doctors assume that it is only a business between doctor and patient, without reference to environment, cultural beliefs, and local customs. The Anglo often concentrates on symptoms, forgetting people. "During the first year in medical school the student's contacts are with dead people."



Looking at a man with the naked eye, he is an individual. Looking at him with a microscope, he is a biological specimen. Looking at him from the long view, he becomes a unit of society, bound into its culture with bolts of steel. The doctor needs all three perspectives to do justice to his great mission.

## Revolt in the Desert

A serious handicap of the social scientist is the lack of laboratory conditions where controlled experiments and measured observations can be carried on. Researchers often dream of an isolated spot where they would have the power to vary conditions and pinpoint behavior.

Such an opportunity came to Dr. Alexander Leighton, psychiatrist and anthropologist, during World War II. With a small staff, he was assigned to observe one of the relocation centers for Japanese-Americans. At Poston in the Arizona desert, men, women, and children were obliged to live under great tension and insecurity for many months. Various experiments might have been made, but Dr. Leighton chose to concentrate on the patterns of group tension itself. Later he reported his findings in a penetrating book, *The Governing of Men*, which has value for administrators and executors in many kinds of human situations.

The camp was guarded by the Army and administered by the United States Indian Service. Leighton was delegated to watch its development, advise the administration, and search for valid conclusions. He asks

. . . What in all this is recurrently human? What are the laws of individual behavior, what are the perennial social forces at work here? . . . What general characteristics of human nature are in action, a knowledge of which would prevent such sudden diseases of society as this? The breakdowns of man's organizations of himself and his fellows are not events isolated in evacuation camps. They cover as much of the earth as is covered by the human race, and

questions that run deeply into the fate of mankind in a shrinking world are involved.

Japanese people coming to America to settle on the West Coast had different culture rings from the ancestors of George Adams. They had centuries of civilization back of them, to be sure, but not Western civilization, not Christianity, not Anglo-Saxon culture, and above all, not the English language. By 1940, however, they were well on the road to making the adjustment, to becoming "acculturated," as the anthropologists say. Their children were at home in both worlds.

In their ranks were tuna fishermen from Terminal Island, Judo instructors, lawyers, celery farmers, rose gardeners, a Y.M.C.A. leader, "Texas Mary" (the ornament of a Salinas saloon), wholesale produce merchants, a Baptist minister, research workers, butlers, bums. At 7.55 A.M. on December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor was attacked. Instantly life for every one of these people became difficult. On January 2, 1942, Manila fell, and it became more difficult. Said the *Los Angeles Times*: "A viper is none the less a viper wherever the egg is hatched." On February 15, Singapore surrendered, and life became critical. Ten days later, when a Japanese submarine shelled Santa Barbara, the limit was reached in the opinion of the authorities. The Japanese on the coast had to go inland to special camps, where they were held under observation by the government to forestall mob violence against them. On March 18, President Roosevelt created the War Relocation Authority to handle the mass evacuation.

Poston sits in the burning desert near an old mining town. In summer the temperature sometimes climbs above 120° in the shade. Here, as the spring of 1942 progressed and the sun mounted higher, 9,000 evacuees were assembled in a new community. The government did not plan to punish them for what had been done at Pearl Harbor, nor was the idea to pamper them. They were to be as self-sufficient as possible, to earn a little by raising some crops for the outside market, and to live a

very simple life in Army barracks on the hot desert floor until the war was over.

In the camp were three well-marked classes of Japanese. The *Issei*, who had been born in Japan and could never become American citizens. The *Nisei*, born in the United States and ipso facto citizens, mostly children of *Issei*. The *Kibei*, who were *Nisei* that had gone to Japan from America, and subsequently returned. Many of the *Issei*, after being treated like lepers on the coast, wanted Japan to win the war, though they did nothing overt about it. Most of the *Nisei*, however, despite the treatment they received, remained loyal to America. In complete disregard of these distinctions, demagogues in the Far West repeatedly made headlines by whipping up agitation against all people of Japanese descent, proclaiming that "a Jap is a Jap," and none could be trusted.

Meanwhile, the administration of the camp was split into two kinds of staff members, called by Dr. Leighton "people-minded," and "stereotype-minded." The former were full of good will, which was fine; but some of them tried to operate on the blanket assumption that "we're all human beings"—which was not so fine. We *are* human beings, right enough, *but our cultures are different*, and if this crucial fact is ignored we misjudge what is happening.

The stereotype-minded were at the other extreme. They looked on their charges as "Japs" first and people second—if indeed they were not to be classed among the higher apes. Motivations were allegedly different from those of "white men." The stereotype-minded thought the Center ought to be an out-and-out concentration camp. Since they were thinking of slogans rather than people, they gave no attention to incentives, but relied on punishment and fear. Shoot a few Japs and the rest would come around, was the general idea—"the only treatment the yellow so-and-sos will understand." This attitude was held by the least educated of the staff, and those least informed about the reasons for the Center. One of the top officials, a man of fifty, "honest, forthright, and inflexible," came from the deep

South We will call him Mr Z. He had no difficulty in transferring to the Japanese his whole built-in belief system about Negroes—a lower order of being to be kept in its place.

The hot months of 1942 dragged on. The divided policy of the Poston administration, shortages in many promised supplies, the unknown future, all combined to develop among the people of the community various acute needs—physical, social, psychological—and all related to a feeling of insecurity and fear. One task of the administration was to discover those needs and meet them, and so keep the community from disintegration.

This kind of situation is an acute test for any administrator. He should know that strong fear inside a group is likely to lead to strong anger, which in turn may lead to violence. The people at the Center were full of fear. They had no worthy status, no sense of belonging, no idea what was going to happen to them. They had lost most of their property, and had nothing to hope for.

A local self-government council had been set up, but it did very little and, as the people progressively lost hope, it became the target for their grievances. There was no real integration, no rank and file leadership in the whole camp. Toward the end of the summer, neighborhood groups began to form spontaneously, with each block of barracks as a political and social unit. The “good of Poston” was too nebulous an incentive, but many members began to pick cotton in earnest when it was known that the proceeds would be used to improve their own blocks.

As in all human communities, members varied from responsible upright citizens to bad actors full of hate. Within narrower limits, so did members of the staff vary. The degree of coöperation and responsibility was also affected by government policy at Washington. Abrupt changes and reversals of policy were frequent, and they bewildered people and hurt morale.

By October, 1942, it was clear that the struggle to build a going community had been lost. The Center was visibly disintegrating, and dire things were in the wind. It was cool in the evenings now, and people stood on the streets around the

fires which they had built against the chull, recounting their grievances. They spoke bitterly of the poor food, the terrible heat of the preceding summer, the hospital equipment which had never come, the mosquitoes, the wretched pay of fifty cents a day.

Around the fires, ugly rumors began to spread. Premonitions and prophecies began to be heard, Ouija boards were brought out. A situation out of control usually encourages magical solutions. Crackpots, demagogues, trouble makers, had a receptive audience around the fires. Gangsters were not only tolerated but admired as men who got action. . . . Action!

The administration consulted Dr. Leighton, and he sought to interpret what was happening. People, he said, were trying to adjust to a society that had no framework and no stability. They were trying somehow to exist without security or hope.

By the middle of November, their strong inhibitions against aggression and violence began to crack. Meanwhile, small elements of new social organization, the nucleus of a new structure, were appearing in the fluid confusion. The lack of harmony was almost unbearable. When would the little bonfires turn into one great conflagration?

During the night of November 14, a thirty-year-old *Kibei*, a rice broker and reputed swindler of Japanese farmers, was attacked in his sleep in the bachelors' barracks and beaten almost to death. Fifty suspects were rounded up, and two of them held for further investigation by the FBI, one a former university student, the other a Judo instructor, both were popular. Their families tried to obtain their release. A meeting was held in the block where the two men lived, and a delegation was appointed to see the project director. The director said that the FBI had the matter in hand, and he could not interfere with the investigation.

Then a curious thing happened. The handful of people who threatened violence unless the men were released became suddenly the catalyst which exploded the frustrations and grievances of the whole camp. There was a spontaneous walk-out—not so

much on behalf of the prisoners, as on behalf of long accumulated resentments and hopelessness. As one striker said: "I didn't know what the issues were and I don't imagine anyone else did either—there were so many conflicting issues. Everyone took up the torch in defense of his particular peeve."

The administration was on the spot. Should they call in the Army and quell the strike with force? This would certainly involve bloodshed, for some strikers were offering to die for their cause, while soldiers outside the gates, mostly raw recruits, were eager to charge in. Should the administration try, on the other hand, to weather the crisis and use the emotional energy the crisis released to build a better community? If the Army came in shooting, the hope of anything better than a concentration camp was gone. The Berlin and Tokyo broadcasters, furthermore, would have a field day equating the attack with the Four Freedoms! The majority of the people at the Center, it must be remembered, were *American citizens*, American born, whose loyalty had never been disproved.

When the strike exploded, the staff split down the middle. To the stereotype-minded, the matter was simple. Mr. Z had his formula ready: The Japs (considered all to be identical) were raising hell, and it was the duty of good Americans to go in there, slap them down, and put them in their places. If this involved shooting irons, it involved shooting irons. The whole disturbance was the result of previous coddling and lack of discipline.

Mr. Z had followers, though not all so outspoken. Some of the staff saw the situation in pure Hollywood colors, with plots, secret agents, Axis machinations, buried food supplies for invading armies, all complete. The melodrama mind, Leighton says, was exceedingly dangerous at this juncture. It was primarily a product of fear, but "out of the figments of the mind springs actual catastrophe." Thus the top administration had to deal not only with tension in the community it was trying to govern, but with emotional breakdown in its own ranks.

On the other side were the "people-minded" staff members,

some of them sentimental, some of them realists. They tried to canvass various alternatives. Breaking up the crowd that milled around the jail where the two suspects were held would not halt the strike. If the Army took over there was no way to force residents to work. Frustrations and grievances would be driven underground, only to become worse. . . . So the "people-minded" reasoned

Not even the most tender-hearted of the staff entertained for a moment the idea of letting the two prisoners go free, as the crowd demanded. "Face seems to be important in all societies. . . . Orientals have no monopoly." The alternative to summoning the Army was some kind of negotiation which tacitly implied that the strikers had a case. The strikers by this time were represented by a so-called Emergency Council, mostly elder *Isseis*.

The top administrator was attending an important conference outside the State and could not, at this critical juncture, be reached. We cannot envy the assistant director, who, after a stormy staff meeting between these two schools of thought, stood looking out the window at the gray November desert, trying to decide what to do. If he said "yes" and let the Army take over, he had a perfect escape for himself, but the Center was finished. If he said "no," perhaps the mob would go on the rampage, looting and burning, as Mr. Z so confidently prophesied. After a long time he turned back from the window and said "no." He would ask the Army to establish patrols *outside* the area, but not to take charge of the camp.

Every administrator, Leighton remarks, must be prepared when the time comes to back himself against the world, and if necessary take the consequences of losing. It is no field for the faint of heart. True, the moment does arrive when the administrator stands alone, but how much better, when that time comes, to be backed by knowledge! For a few hours at Poston it was touch and go, but the decision turned out to be the right one. When the people felt that the administration was ready to negotiate in good faith, the hotheads lost their following. The strike ended with a mass meeting in front of the jail.



It was a cold night and the fires were all burning. Speakers praised the work of the community's Emergency Council, the law and order which it had maintained during the strike; they looked toward the bright future of Poston as a self-governing community. The director, recently returned from his conference, made a warming speech. The strike was nobody's fault, he said. "It's not the administration up there and you people down here, but we're all working together." The meeting ended with three *banzais* and the crowd went quietly away, its tensions relaxed. In some quarters there was even a feeling of jubilation, of liking everybody, including the administration. The fires were put out; the rubbish was cleared away.

One of the prisoners was released outright, after the FBI concluded its investigation. The other, the Judo instructor, was paroled pending examination by the regular civil courts of Arizona. Subsequently the case was dropped because of insufficient evidence. Self-government really developed out of the Emergency Council and a sounder community with indigenous leadership was born. Although other troubles arose from time to time thereafter, no more strikes and no more mass frustrations were found at Poston.

### LESSONS FROM THE CRISIS

The crisis and its settlement had focused attention on certain fundamental *needs* of the community "on behalf of which," says Leighton, "the strike had been only an imperious cry for attention." The story of the uprising, dramatic as it is, is merely the prelude to the conclusions which went into Dr. Leighton's notebook as a social scientist. Some of them will impress you as simple common sense; others are clearly exploring new areas in human relations. "I am certain that in the Relocation Camp experience, my hands, groping blindly below the surface, touched here and there on a real body of constants and laws in human living."

He begins his analysis with two constants which we have already encountered

*Principle 1.* In all the different peoples of the world there are universal basic characteristics inherent in human nature. *Principle 2.* There are profound differences in belief, sentiment, habit, and custom among the various communities, tribes, and nations which make up mankind.

These two linked principles summarize the culture concept. They are accepted by practically all modern scientists who have seriously studied the nature of man and his society. The more naive of the "people-minded" administrators at the camp accepted the first but were not sufficiently aware of the second. The "stereotype-minded" embraced the second in its most extreme form, and denied the first. So both groups missed the mark, though Mr. Z and the "shoot-'em-down" school were the more seriously afiel.

Here are other useful conclusions and recommendations arising from the study.

Do not think of people as racial, national, or class stereotypes. Get up close and look at them, particularly at the children.

Group stability is helped by situations which give economic security, by work which is thought to be important, by outlets in sports and recreation.

All people everywhere create social organizations, given time enough. Very recent immigrants are thus at a great disadvantage. Human groups cannot carry out actions for which they have no social organization.

Remember that your own staff is composed of human beings, too, reacting in ways similar to the people under them.

Keep the communication line open, both from the administration to the group and from the group back to the administration.

Never make threats or lay down rules you cannot enforce. Do not take a strong stand on a weak position. This sounds a little like "don't kiss a buzz saw," but administrators and legislators and Secretaries of State are doing it all the time.

Most individuals, most of the time, prefer peace and quiet. The administrator can always count on this massive inertia. He can also count on a sense of humor. He can count on the rela-

tively long time it takes for aggressive feelings to rise to the point of violence. In Poston it took almost six months.

A sure warning of breakdown is a rise in rumors and magic.

Never dismiss complaints as trivial, they may be storm signals.

Following an outbreak of aggressive action, people have a feeling of relief and well-being, of liking everyone. *This is the worst possible moment to deal out punishment.*

Finally, if an administrator finds he cannot control his prejudices, he had better get into another line of work.

### ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST

When Dr Leighton and his associates came to Poston, the administration was making decisions off the cuff after informal staff conferences. The communication lines were not good in either direction. After he had collected sufficient first-hand information, he began to tell the top managers about it—to their apparent astonishment. "We thus became aware of what would seem to be a basic principle in the application of social science to a fast-moving administration program, namely, that the research staff have direct access to policy-makers, and participation in policy meetings"

When the strike ended in November, the social scientists had been in constant attendance during the critical hours. *They did not make the final decision*; the man at the window did that. But they put the major characteristics of the situation before him, so that he could make his decision on the basis of understanding instead of passion. Mr Z supplied the passion . . . In these two men, Mr. Z and the Assistant Director, do we see two worlds, the one we have known, and another which may come?

### FROM STONE TO STEEL

Here is another story about social scientists observing a community in the midst of change. A single small change, from a stone ax to a steel one, shook this particular community to its foundations, and came near to destroying it.

On the subtropical north coast of Australia lives a tribe of native hunters and fishermen called the Yir Yoront. Like most primitive Australians, long cut off from other cultures, the tribe enjoyed great stability. Customs and beliefs were standardized, and before any change was accepted, a myth had to be invented which proved that one's ancestors did things that way, and thus the change was really no change at all.

Up to the turn of the century, the tribe was still living in the Stone Age. An important tool, a short-handled stone ax, was used to build huts, cut firewood, and make other tools for hunting, fishing, and gathering wild honey. The stone heads came from a quarry 400 miles to the south, and were obtained from other tribes in an annual intertribal fiesta. The handle was fitted with great skill and care and attached with bark and gum. The completed article—or artifact—was far more than a tool. It had become a symbol, a totem, a sign of the owner's masculinity, to be cherished and handed down, and loaned only with the greatest circumspection. The stone ax was not only useful, it was a kind of keystone in the belief system of the Yir Yoront.

About 1900, steel axes began to filter in along the tribal trade routes. They were welcomed at first as more efficient; one could cut down a tree much faster. By 1915, missionaries were distributing the steel axes as gifts and rewards. If a man worked especially hard he might get an ax, and so might his wife or young son. The missionaries hoped by this means to induce people to plant and fence gardens and improve their diet.

The idea was excellent, but it overlooked the culture concept. The steel ax destroyed a most important symbol in the belief system of the tribe. A man lost his importance and dignity; his very masculinity was threatened without his stone ax. Women and children, now possessing axes themselves, became independent and disrespectful. The entire system of age, sex, and kinship roles was thrown into confusion. The old trade relations were disrupted and the intertribal fiesta was robbed of significance and charm. Stealing and wife lending increased. The ancient totem system was shattered, for it could not be decided

whether the steel ax should be a totem of the Sunlit Cloud Iguana Clan, as the stone ax had been since time out of mind, or the totem of the Head-to-the-East Corpse Clan. . . .

Anthropologists, studying the situation in the 1930's, found that the culture had not broken down so completely as in the case of certain other tribes more exposed to western influences, but it was shaky and insecure. The major reason was the change in the composition of one artifact, from stone to steel, and a change technically for the better.

Lauriston Sharp, who tells this story in a collection about technological change, leaves it here, but the editor<sup>1</sup> points the moral in a list of questions. Before introducing a new artifact into an established native culture, missionaries and others would do well to ask "What will it replace? What other tools and techniques are likely to be affected? Who will benefit and who will be hurt? What symbols and totems and beliefs will be upset?" Hundreds of native cultures around the world have been wrecked and undone by well-meaning Westerners for want of an Alexander Leighton

Well-meaning Westerners are themselves now threatened by the new electronic artifact of automation. Who will benefit and who will be hurt? What symbols and totems will be upset?

<sup>1</sup> Spicer. See Bibliography

## Scientists Look at Race

Despite their color, the Japanese-Americans at Poston behaved the way any human community would behave under severe stress. As we follow Dr Leighton's account, we almost forget the racial differences; to Mr. Z, however, these were paramount. But the scientist helped to prevent an explosion by treating the situation as a human problem in group tension.

Race prejudice is a cultural phenomenon. One is not born with it, it has to be learned. It has come to our Western culture in relatively recent times, a modern form of the age-old suspicion of the out-group, the foreigner, the person who is different. Religious prejudice has declined in the West as race prejudice has increased.

In the ideal community nobody would need to instruct children about races or warn them against prejudice. The adult would act without bias, and the children would automatically follow. But in George Adams's New England, as well as below the Mason-Dixon line, the pattern of prejudice is established, sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker. The children see the snub, feel the antipathy, hear the ridicule, and presently they are locked into the pattern too, ready to pass it on to *their* children.

### THE BIOLOGY OF RACE

The story of Adam and Eve in the book of Genesis has been vindicated in part by biology. Its main point is now generally accepted as true, namely, that there is only one human family. All of us now alive, the whole two-and-half billion of us, are the descendants of a comparatively small group of common

ancestors. In Genesis, the dates are wrong, and we find quite a few poetic trimmings, but the idea is sound. If each of us could trace his family tree back for enough generations, we should all find the same great-great-great . . . grandfather.

Our most remote forebear, according to Linton, was probably a small tree-dweller, ancestral to both men and apes. Succeeding generations became larger, with relatively bigger brains. During the Miocene Age, some members became too large for trees and took to the ground, still on all fours. Gradually they developed carnivorous habits and began to stand erect. Their brains grew still bigger, and late in the Pliocene Age, one branch reached the subhuman level, in the form of a very primitive gentleman indeed. He gave rise to a number of species, one of which finally developed into modern man. Language, the most human of all our traits, began then. This species overran the earth, and in due course began to differentiate into the various races which we know today—brown, yellow, and white.

If we could piece together the story of how a small group, starting probably in Central Asia, gradually spread and migrated around the globe, it would make the American conquest of the West seem like an afternoon stroll. How did these remote ancestors of ours get from the mainland to Japan, to the Philippines, across the watery wastes of the Pacific to one island after another? How did they make their way from the mouth of the Nile down to the Cape of Good Hope? What was their rate—a hundred miles a year, or ten miles a century? How did they eat, and keep the family together?

Even more astonishing, after crossing Bering Strait into Alaska, how did they reach Tierra del Fuego, 10,000 miles away, over some of the most savage territory on the planet? How did they get to Australia, and why was that continent then sealed off for 20,000 years, leaving the people there culturally frozen in the Old Stone Age, still using stone axes in A. D. 1900? Did an easier route exist, perhaps on islands later swallowed by the ocean?

It has taken scientific teamwork of a high order to get the

facts of race together. The *historians* have studied recorded migrations, the *sociologists* have studied group organizations, the *biologists* have studied anatomy and genetics; some *anthropologists* have studied culture, and others have taken many measurements of skulls and shinbones; the *psychologists* have studied intelligence. Their joint findings have been checked and cross-checked, and they have come to the overall conclusion that "all the peoples of the earth are a single family with a common origin."<sup>1</sup>

Take, for instance, the human foot. All human feet have practically the same structure, with intricate bones and muscles and joints. It is clearly impossible for this combination to have arisen twice in two independent species. All humans have the same tooth and jaw structure. They are capable of similar physical tasks—running, striking, lifting. They are capable of similar mental tasks—acquiring a language, counting, abstracting, using logic, argument, persuasion. They all gather into bands and groups, and develop cultures which contain many parallel patterns and universals, as we have seen. No other creature passes on a culture to the next generation.

Scientists find that the only demonstrable *racial* differences, which are over and above individual differences, are in a few superficial bodily characteristics—the texture of head hair, the shape of the nose, eye color, skin color. White people are the hairiest, perhaps because most of them live in colder latitudes. Negroes have the darkest skin color, certainly because this gives them protection against the rays of the tropic sun. All races have some primitive and other less primitive characteristics. The thin lips of the white man, for instance, are nearer those of the ape, the thick lips of the Negro further away.

Skin color is determined by two chemicals, *carotene*, which gives a yellow tinge, and *melanin*, which gives a brown. These colors, combined with the pinkish tinge from blood vessels showing through, provide all the skin shades known. Every human

<sup>1</sup> Benedict and Weltfish, *The Races of Mankind*. A good short survey, based on Boas' *Mind of Primitive Man*.



being has some of each—unless he is an albino, which means he lacks *carotene* and *melanin* completely. Albinos are found in all races. Skin color “is not an all-or-nothing difference,” says Ruth Benedict, “it is a difference in proportion . . . due to the amount of these chemicals present in your skin”

Height is no reliable characteristic of race. The Shilluk Negroes, near the sources of the Nile, average 6 feet 2 inches, while not far away the brown pygmies average 4 feet 8 inches.

Head shape is similarly unhelpful. In West Africa we find long heads, along the Congo round heads. American Indians are both long-headed and round-headed. In Asia Minor, where human mixtures rise to a kind of frenzy, there are long heads and round heads among close relatives.

Blood differences between the races are not significant; no chemist can tell from a blood sample to what race its donor belongs. He can tell whether it is type O, A, B or AB, but these blood types are found in *all* races. Your son and a Maya Indian may both be type AB, while your father's type may differ from your own. Folklore has developed a great mystique about “blood,” and how some people are “pure” and some are “mongrels.” The truth is, says Gordon Allport, that “most men are mongrels.” At the outbreak of the Civil War, however, a Kentucky editor clarified everything by declaring that it was a war to the death between the pure “Angles” of the South, and the decadent “Normans” of the North.

Differences in the size of the human brain today tell us little about race, nothing about intelligence. The world's largest brain belongs to an imbecile. Some geniuses have relatively small brains. As in the case of a blood sample, no scientist can tell by examining a brain alone to what race the owner belonged. The average brain size in cubic centimeters differs slightly by races, but it has not been proved that this affects intelligence until the variation becomes substantial. Back of Neanderthal man, differences in brain size are important.

Curt Stern, writing in the *Scientific American*,<sup>2</sup> says that

<sup>2</sup> October, 1954.

while there remains a group of believers in the mental inferiority of the Negro, the majority of students today holds this proposition to be unproved. All intelligence tests are loaded with cultural conditioning, but one extremely significant fact that has emerged from these tests is that the *range* of measured intelligence is as wide among Negroes as among whites. One little colored girl has scored an IQ of 200, and many Negro children score 140 on the Stanford-Binet scale.<sup>3</sup>

All races can interbreed everywhere, and with remarkable industry have done so. Your typical European is a dizzy mixture of Slav, Mongol, African, Celt, Saxon, Teuton, Semite, and other strains. "So far as we know there are no immutable laws of nature that make racial mixture harmful," says Benedict. Have you a picture in your mind of the Scandinavian people as predominantly tall, blue-eyed blondes, with long heads and long faces? If you stood on a street corner in Stockholm with a notebook and counted, you would find that only about 15 percent of the passers-by fitted this description.

All races except the Australian aborigines have developed high civilizations from time to time. There were Negro empires and states in Africa when large sections of Europe were sunk in barbarism. The people of China were reading Lao Tze when the original Britons were painting their bodies blue and yelling in the fens. The Maya Indians were better astronomers and sculptors than their Spanish conquerors.

The "character" of the different races turns out, as we might expect, to be a result of culture, not biology. American Indians in New Mexico pueblos were mostly placid, peace-loving, and unemotional, while in the horse culture of the plains, Indians of the same stock were "frenzy-loving Dionysian warriors."

The three primary races—the Caucasian, Mongoloid, and Negroid—exhibit no significant difference in height, weight, anatomy, blood, intelligence, or character. They all have the same normal temperature of 98.6° F., the same life span under

<sup>3</sup> In a ten-year study by Allison Davis, some Negro children at the University of Chicago's demonstration school outranked children of professors.

similar conditions, the same muscular prowess. All are vulnerable to certain diseases and cured by similar methods. Individuals within each race, of course, differ greatly, and subgroups differ in certain characteristics, like the Negro giants and pygmies.

### NONBIOLOGICAL OR MYTHICAL RACES

Many other "races" are identified verbally, argued about, and fought over. On analysis, however, most of them turn out to be national or religious groups with little or no biological difference. "Aryans" are properly people who speak languages derived from the Aryan language group. "Jews" are properly people who subscribe to the Hebrew religion, and practice certain ceremonies like the Seder on Passover. The so-called "Jewish type," with hooked nose and black hair, is a Mediterranean variation of the Caucasian race, and includes many Arabs, Armenians, Turks, Levantines, Greeks, and South Italians, as well as Jews.

Hitler and his kept biologists got into some weird difficulties with their "Aryan" doctrines. The Hungarians were obviously not members of the master race, but when they joined Hitler's Axis, they had to be accommodated somehow under the main tent. The solution was to call them "non-non-Aryans." The Arabs and the Japanese presented further complications. In due time the savants in Berlin became so involved in this racial mythology that they had to assert that the Jews, far from being simple "non-Aryans," did not belong to any race at all, but formed a mongrel community thenceforth to be called "Anti-Race."

"A plotting of racial characteristics," says Linton, "on the basis of their degrees of evolutionary advance, shows such an uneven balance between the various races and breeds, that we are forced to conclude that all of them stand at about equal distances from their common ancestor." Perhaps the real reason for the long domination of Europeans over the so-called backward races was reflected in the famous couplet

Whatever happens, we have got  
The Maxim gun and they have not.

The inaccuracy of most talk about racial differences becomes apparent when one turns to the evidence which scientists have accumulated in the past generation or two. Neither science nor the book of Genesis has had much effect, however. The Christian ethic of the brotherhood of man, as well as the story of Adam and Eve, turns out to be substantially in line with the latest findings in blood chemistry—but *the word does not get around*. What is the trouble?

Polls show large majorities of Americans believing that the intellectual inferiority of Negroes is inborn. Thus while real biological differences are slight, believed-in differences are transcendent. "Race, so to speak," says Robert Redfield, "is a human invention." It is not to be found in the blood count, but it has an enormous place in the culture. We have gone far enough in our exploration of social science to know what that means. It means an intangible force against which argument has little effect.

When a white tenant farmer south of the Mason-Dixon line joined a posse to keep Negroes "in their place," he was not necessarily either a brute or an enemy of society. He was following the accepted customs of the tribe, doing what he had been brought up to do. To him it was right and proper that Negroes should give way to whites. This he began to learn almost before he could walk. George Adams learned it, too, but less tenaciously.

In the deep South—for reasons too complicated to go into here, but partly tied up with the frustrations of the War between the States—a caste system has been developed almost as rigorous as that of India. In India it is religion, here it is race, on which one's rank is founded. To change the system suddenly would be as shocking to Southerners as the sudden elimination of Brahmins would be to Indians. Mark Twain in a magnificent passage reveals the conflict in Huck Finn after Huck saves the Negro Jim from being captured as a "runaway Nigger" before the Civil War. Huck feels that he has committed a major crime;

his whole moral code lies in ruins "I got to feeling so mean and so miserable I most wished I was dead."

Perhaps the only way to modify a caste system, in a culture where it has been established, is to change beliefs in people's minds. That is not done overnight. It probably can never be done solely by appeals to reason, or by reading the Bill of Rights in public parks.

### PREJUDICE VS. DISCRIMINATION

It is important to understand the cardinal distinction between race *prejudice* and race *discrimination*. Prejudice is a culture pattern not susceptible to frontal attack, and not to be reasoned about except within narrow limits. Discrimination, on the other hand, is a specific, material thing, like keeping Negroes out of schools, washrooms, restaurants, and making them ride in the rear seats of buses.

Discrimination can be attacked, particularly in a country where democratic traditions in other respects are strong.<sup>4</sup> A specific Jim Crow practice can be selected for attack, and if the strategy is well devised, the discrimination can be, and has been, eliminated. Negroes are now being admitted into many colleges in the South. As a discrimination is reduced, there is in turn a reduction in prejudice. It develops, furthermore, in the best way, by use and wont rather than by arguments and propaganda. "If the do-gooders in race relations would waste less time fretting about prejudice and devote their efforts to the reduction of specific, vulnerable cases of discrimination, real progress could be made," says Donald Young.

Branch Rickey, manager of the Brooklyn baseball team, engineered a famous example. He put a Negro, Jackie Robinson, on first base in 1947 for the first time in big league history, and backed him to the limit. It took great tact on Robinson's part to survive the first two or three months and avoid a fight with

<sup>4</sup>Rigorous Jim Crow practices in the American South are of comparatively recent origin, beginning about 1880. See Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*.

some of the players born in the South. By August, however, he was an accepted institution, batting, fielding, and base running with great brilliance. Other Negroes were then signed by Cleveland and St. Louis. John Chamberlain asked Rickey if he had fought for his first baseman to solve a sociological problem. "No," said Rickey, "I brought him up for one reason: to win the pennant! I'd play an elephant with pink horns if he could win the pennant."

This brings up the whole question of social engineering for better race relations. We will concentrate on the Negro problem in America, but the implications are world-wide. Most Southerners sincerely desire to see race relations improved. What methods are available in this direction? Leighton's book about Poston provides important suggestions, and Young has offered more.

Suppose the mayor of a city wants to guard against a race riot; suppose the president of a big steel company wants to introduce Negro workers into his mill; suppose a labor leader wants to persuade the rank and file to accept Negroes into the union? Social scientists can help plan his campaign.<sup>6</sup> They say that trouble always takes place at *some point* in the social structure—on a bus, at a factory gate, on a housing project, in a school. The social engineer studies these points and consults the growing literature about them. A War Department manual for white officers who were to lead Negro troops in World War II was prepared by a team of sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists. Police handbooks now in use analyze the tensions that lead to race riots, and serve to alert police officers stationed in parts of a city where Negro and white communities merge—often a danger zone. Such technical studies are worth many manifestos about injustices and unconstitutionality.

The United States Armed Services are conducting a great program to abolish discrimination, aided by social science research. It was found that white soldiers who had no experience

<sup>6</sup> Donald Young's "Techniques of Race Relations." *Proceedings of American Philosophical Society*, November, 1947.

with Negro soldiers in World War II voted more than 90 percent against being brigaded with them. (Samuel A. Stouffer designed the polls.) Those who had limited contact were 67 percent against it. Those who were used to Negroes in the same regiment but not in the same company were 50 percent against. But white soldiers who had fought side by side with Negroes in the same company were *86 percent in favor of continuing the arrangement!*

"When I first heard about it," said a platoon sergeant from South Carolina, "I'd be damned if I'd wear the same shoulder patch with them. After that day when we saw how they fought, I changed my mind. They're just like any other boys to us." Elmo Roper, in summarizing Stouffer's findings, says that whites and Negroes got along well in the Army at the front because they had a common enemy, and had to depend on each other in battle. Nobody was conducting a moral crusade or appealing to the Constitution, far from it, American soldiers, with various percentages of *melanin*, were trying to win a war against stiff opposition.

These studies helped to hasten antidiscrimination programs after the war. A reporter at Fort Dix, New Jersey, found the Army program working well after six months of trial.<sup>9</sup> There had been no flare-ups, though the first days were rather tense. Negroes and whites were brigaded together, ate and played together; in some cases Negro officers had white enlisted men under them. The reporter asked a white private whether the Negroes in his platoon were good soldiers. "I never thought about it," he said "Like everybody else, I guess, some good, some lousy."

Col. L. L. Gmeiner, the deputy post commander, summarized the situation at Fort Dix.

These young soldiers, put into large camps for the first time, have to learn to live together and work together. Under pressure of military necessity, we have found that they accomplish this adjustment in about two weeks.

<sup>9</sup>New York *Herald Tribune*, May 21, 1951

The rigorous discipline of the Army makes an antidiscrimination program easier. Civilians usually take far longer than two weeks in learning to live and let live. United States public schools, in some localities, following the Supreme Court's decision of 1954, may require years. But the Army experience has abundantly verified social science theory.

### EXPLODED BELIEFS ABOUT RACE

We used to think that the "Negro mind" could not aspire to much education above a vocational course, as taught in schools like Tuskegee and Hampton. Now we know that such a limitation is as false as it is cruel. Negro education should follow the regular American educational pattern, varying with individuals and economic opportunity, not with race.

We used to think that the Negro was particularly susceptible to delinquency and crime. His moral brakes were weak, and he just could not help himself when temptation crossed his path. Now we know that his brakes are as well lined as anybody else's, and that the trouble is cultural, not racial. If Negroes have a high crime rate, the social scientist investigates the slums in which they were reared, and the emotional security they got as children.

We used to think that Negroes were gifted with a special sense of song, rhythm, and dance. Now we know they are no more innately musical than the inhabitants of Aroostook County, Maine. If Negro children, or white children, or Balinese children, are brought up to sing and stamp their feet, they will sing and stamp their feet. Many Negroes are good at blues, but no better than Eddie Condon or Bix Beiderbecke.

Derogatory stereotypes ("big, black, buck nigger"), and sentimental stereotypes (Aunt Jemima with her pancakes) both harm race relations. Playing up Joe Louis, the boxer, as representing a special race of superathletes is very harmful. "Such credits imply a biological theory of race differences just as surely as do unfavorable stereotypes," says Young. The reaction to the brilliant career of George Washington Carver or Ralph Bunche should



be "Why not?"—rather than the more general "Who would have thought it possible?"

Interracial tactics should be designed—we are still considering engineering—to let whites and Negroes become more and more used to each other along Main Street; in stores, hotels, trains, parks, theaters, buses, and other public places, acting like anybody else. The young soldier at Fort Dix had the right idea: "Like everybody else—some good, some lousy."

It is bad tactics to suppress news unfavorable to Negroes. Twisting statistics to show their achievements is not sound engineering either. The unvarnished truth will be found a more effective agent in the slow process of cultural change than slanted stories. Negroes are no worse, *and no better*, than the rest of us. Born not far from George Adams, I never solved the race problem for myself until I began to look at Negroes the way I looked at dark Italians or blond Scandinavians—different complexions from mine, otherwise *people*; not to be pitied or fussed over because of their race any more than Tony the fruit dealer or Greta Garbo.

Harping on conflict and injustice can be harmful too. The right to protest injustice must be maintained, but to indict a whole region for injustice, day in and day out, is to challenge retaliation. Every sensible observer sees that the Communists' campaign to raise a black rebellion in the South is a perfect formula for putting the clock back to carpetbagging days. Fewer realize that harping on "incidents," like the trial of the Scottsboro boys, has a similar, if less violent, effect. One of the stupidest things to do is to send agitators from the North down to protest an incident in the South.

There are more than 100 national organizations working on race relations today, not counting federal agencies. Most of them lack any means of measuring the effects of their propaganda. They send out leaflets and broadcasts and hope for the best. "The dearth of appropriate research and consequent lack of a proven base for action is one of the most conspicuous features of existing intergroup programs," says Robin M. Williams, Jr.

How much good will and how much good money is wasted on projects that ignore the known laws of human relations? How much of it boomerangs, to make a bad condition worse?

Race prejudice involves a prejudgment of individuals on the basis of a stereotype—"a Jap is a Jap," "a Nigger is a Nigger,"—Mr. Z's trouble at Poston. It involves also a set of evaluations. A prejudiced individual brings to the issue certain beliefs about traits in others, favorable or unfavorable. It is interesting to note that an unfavorable prejudgment does not always rate the victim as inferior. In anti-Semitism the stereotype is sometimes the other way around—"the Jews are too smart."

### HISTORIC DECISION

Negro children living in Negro districts are usually retarded in language compared to white children, but Negro children in mixed neighborhoods are practically equal. Segregation tends to slow down intellectual development.<sup>7</sup>

The United States Supreme Court made history—and gave Moscow propaganda a serious blow—when, in 1954, it ruled against separate public schools for white and Negro children. Most schools in the North have never had this separation—the schools and colleges I attended in Massachusetts almost always had Negroes in the classes—but the ratio of Negroes to whites is low compared with the South.

Now segregation is to be ended. After the Court spoke, certain border communities were first to end it, including Washington, D.C. Some states in the Deep South have tried to postpone the day. So drastic a cultural change always carries the possibility of serious trouble, and provides a rich field for demagogues to exploit.

Social scientists promptly moved to meet the challenge. Forty-four scientists, headed by Alfred McClung Lee of Brooklyn College, set up a committee of consultants to assist local communities in making the change. Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Margaret W. Ryan edited a book, *Schools in Transition: Com-*

<sup>7</sup> See Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*.

*munity Experiences in Desegregation*, which describes the experience of 24 communities in giving up segregated public schools. "Where desegregation has been tried," the editors report, "the typical outcome has been eventual acceptance." Only in Cairo, Illinois, was violence reported, and that without bloodshed. Nowhere did the opposition remain organized very long after the change had been made. Citizens got used to it, like the soldiers at Fort Dix.

The scientists observe, however, that it is an uneven, shifting transition, not a sudden, massive change. General rules can help, but "there is no substitute for careful local diagnosis"—a survey of local conditions and tensions before any action is taken. Prejudice among the children themselves in the 24 communities studied was found to be slight . . . "If the parents did not interfere the children got along all right."

#### A NOTE ON SOUTH AFRICA

In the United States, after a long and disgraceful period, citizens with a different *melanin* content are being accepted as fellow human beings. Lynching is growing rapidly obsolete,<sup>8</sup> while signal advances can be noted in the armed services, Southern universities, in restaurants, theaters, public transportation, big league baseball, labor union membership, employment opportunities (F E.P.C.), and now in the public schools. Victory is far from won, but the curve is definitely up and has been mounting since the war.

In South Africa the curve is definitely down. In the United States whites outnumber the colored races, but in South Africa the reverse is true; Negroes, plus Indians, far outnumber the whites. Fear and insecurity are much greater among the whites—a major reason for the downward curve. Both prejudice and discrimination are bred of this fear. Negroes are excluded from many occupations, or admitted only to serve their own race. Unequal pay for equal work is the rule, with a large differential in favor of the whites. Negroes must live in designated areas,

<sup>8</sup> No lynchings recorded in 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956 or 1958.

usually reeking slums. They cannot own land, and have no freedom of movement; passes must be shown if they travel. In the cities they must observe a nine o'clock curfew. They cannot vote.

Yet, Edmund Brunner points out, the white population is increasingly dependent on the Negroes for its standard of living. Whites in factory and industrial work are declining, Negroes increasing, and the rate is even more rapid in agriculture. The black man's brawn becomes a makeshift in place of machinery, but at a high economic cost, despite his low wages.

Careful studies show no evidence of inferior mental ability. The few Negroes who reach the universities—about 5 percent of the total enrollment—do well and some win honors. The nonwhite senior class of the McCord Zulu Hospital Nurses' Training School, in Durban, has for several years made the highest average score of any nursing school in the Union, on the final standardized examinations, set and graded by the government.

Bitterness among the majority is increasing, and this in turn breeds more fear and more repressive measures among the minority—a vicious circle if ever there was one! A heavy social cost is thus laid on top of the economic cost, and all the trend curves seem aiming for disaster. Here, as elsewhere, the social scientist finds himself confirming Abraham Lincoln when he reportedly said: "You can't keep a man in the gutter without getting into it with him."

## Laws of Social Change

For three days after the bombing of Hiroshima, newspaper men approached many physicists, chemists, and zoologists in the University of Chicago with the question: "What does it mean to society?" Only at the end of the third day did it occur to one of the reporters to ask a social scientist. The moral does not need pointing. It is the chief reason why I am writing this book.

The social scientist whom the reporter finally consulted was William F. Ogburn of the department of sociology. It would be difficult to find a man better qualified to deal with the effects of new inventions. He is the major interpreter of the broad concept known as Social Change. For many years he has been running curves into the future, based on how people have behaved in the past, and has arrived at certain general conclusions about both the curves and the behavior.

Ogburn, together with Franz Boas and W. I. Thomas, helped to establish, in the 1920's, an important landmark in the history of social science. They extended the culture concept into sociology, psychology, and other disciplines. Many earlier scientists had tried to explain the evolution of society by analogy with Darwin's theory, in terms of heredity, natural selection, and variation. The hypothesis was that social institutions progressed only as men's brains progressed. The modern white man in his white tie was contrasted with the savage in his nose ring. The *Queen Mary* was compared with a sailing barge, a parallel development.

This was all very pleasing, but there was a catch in it. As the years went by and more was learned about genetics, it be-

came increasingly difficult to explain how the human cortex could have progressed so rapidly. The development of the *Queen Mary* took less than 100 generations—a span too short to allow much change in the brain or in the genes of ship designers.

How then *could* one account for the *Queen Mary*? Ogburn, pondering this question, measured the brain case in the skull of a Cro-Magnon man, who lived 12,000 years ago. He found that it contained about as many cubic centimeters as that of modern man. More tests were made, and the conclusion was established that the brain case and facial characteristics of the Stone Age men of France—the artists who etched those dynamic buffaloes on the walls of caves—were no more primitive than those of the faculty of any university you care to name.

Was the mind of Cro-Magnon man as powerful an instrument as our own? Did it have the same 15 billion electrical connections in its switchboard? The evidence seemed to run in that direction. So scientists began searching for another hypothesis, and found it in the culture concept. Even if we hand down no more mental ability to our children today than our ancestors did 12,000 years ago, we do hand down the laws of thermodynamics, analytical geometry, and how to split the atom. Our children today have an enormous cultural storehouse to work with.

### THE LAW OF GROWTH

When to this conclusion is added the demonstration that material culture grows like compound interest, things begin to fall neatly into place. The theory of the evolution of the brain can be discarded in favor of a theory which fits the facts more closely. Invention, exponential growth, and cultural development account for the *Queen Mary* quite satisfactorily.

In Ice Age days the material culture transmitted from generation to generation was limited in amount, and changed very slowly. Gradually new inventions in weapons, foods, clothing, equipment came into use and the rate of change increased. If the number of inventions from our Cro-Magnon ancestors to

the present could be plotted on a chart, the resulting curve would rise first slowly, then more and more steeply, approximating a compound interest curve.

What an exponential rate of growth means has been dramatized in the story of the farmer who brought his horse to be shod. The blacksmith said he would charge one cent for the first nail, two cents for the second nail, four cents for the third, and so on until the job was done. That seemed reasonable to the farmer, and he accepted the offer. But the farmer had not fooled around with exponential curves. For eight nails in each shoe, or 32 nails altogether, the bill came to just \$42,949,672.95! (You may take your pencil and prove it—as I did when I first heard the story)

Ogburn has assembled a number of these curves, and they all point in the same general direction. He took Darmstaedter's ponderous record of inventions from 1450 to 1899, and plotted the number over four and a half centuries. He took the number of patents issued in the United States and Great Britain, he took various records of discoveries in physics and the other natural sciences. All show exponential rates of growth

Harvey C. Lehman, in a recent paper,<sup>1</sup> has carried on the analysis. He plotted contributions to chemistry, genetics, geology, mathematics, medicine, pathology, entomology, and botany for the past three or four centuries, on a 25-year time scale. They all show the typical compound interest curve. In chemistry, for instance, 688 contributions out of a total of 1616 noted since 1500 A.D. occur in the *last* 25-year period studied—1875 to 1900. There is no diminution in any of these subjects after 1900. Even contributions to subjects like economics, political science, education, philosophy, music, show similar curves. Lehman concludes: "with each succeeding interval, man's creative output . . . has tended to double in amount." The increase has been in the order, per unit of time, not of 1, 2, 3, 4, but of 1, 2, 4, 8—and what a difference, as the farmer found out!

<sup>1</sup>"Exponential Increase of Man's Cultural Output," *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1947.

The theory behind the graphs is that the larger the number of elements in material culture, the greater the number of possible inventions and improvements. Three elements can be combined in four different ways, but four elements can be combined in ten different ways. (Try it with playing cards.) Therefore, as the number of inventions increases, technological change becomes faster and faster. Man can thus proceed from a damp cave to the Waldorf-Astoria on the exponential law without needing any increase in his intelligence.

Let us reverse the proposition. If H. G. Wells's time machine were in good working order, and if it could carry 1,000 babies from the brightest of modern parents to be reared by Cro-Magnon mothers, it is very doubtful whether they would speed up progress. There was not enough in the storehouse for them to work on in 10,000 B.C. We catch a glimpse of the same idea when we realize that even if Leonardo had evolved the laws of an airplane in flight, he could never have flown it (except as a glider) because no engine had yet been invented to power it.

### CULTURAL LAG

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between: (1) material inventions, (2) human behavior resulting from the inventions, and (3) cultural institutions and systems of belief.

Inventions are usually accepted into the culture in two stages. To begin with, people change their day-by-day behavior to accommodate the new device. If it is a useful device, like radio broadcasting, this may happen fairly soon, a matter of ten or fifteen years. Americans are particularly spry at moving over and making room for new material inventions. Then, considerably later on, people change their institutions and belief systems to allow for the invention, and arrange means for controlling its effects. The time between the first and second stages is known as the *cultural lag*.

The invention of the steam engine made inanimate energy practicable in workshops and factories to run machines. There was some opposition by hand workers, but not much. Because



the tempo of the machine, not the tempo of the man, now dominated the process, industrial accidents became more frequent. In the United States, it took about 75 years before workmen's compensation laws were inaugurated to offset the accidents. Such laws ran counter to a belief system of prefactory society, namely, that it was the workman's duty to look out for himself. And indeed when the worker had control of the process in his own home or shop, it *was* his duty. This particular cultural lag can be measured not only in years but also in the number of pauperized widows and maimed workers over the period.

The invention of the automobile was joyously accepted by nearly everyone but carriage makers. The cultural lag was relatively brief in America. Laws were passed almost immediately in an attempt to control its speed and direction. The Amish community of Wayne County, Ohio, a kind of cultural pocket, still forbids its members to use automobiles as inventions of the Devil, encouraging the sin of pride.

Andrew Yoder, a member of the community, was, however, confronted with a practical problem. He had to drive his baby daughter twice a week for treatment to a doctor who lived 15 miles away. Finally Andrew could no longer stand the trip in a horse-drawn buggy. He bought a car and learned to drive it—only to be ostracized by the community. He was still allowed to work but was deprived of social intercourse. His own brother would not eat with him. When out threshing he had to take his meals alone. "It was like feeding a dog out of a dishpan," he told a reporter from *Time*. No Amish cobbler would repair his shoes. The cultural lag governing automobiles held firm in Wayne County, if not in the rest of the United States.

By and large, the motor car has brought at least as much fundamental change in the life of the American people as the horse did in the life of the Plains Indians. In such institutions as traffic courts and parking facilities we are still trying to catch up, without much success.

Some of the most perplexing problems of the present time—mass unemployment, inadequate housing, economic insecurity—

are really problems in cultural lag. We have the economic tools available to cope with them, but community feelings will not permit it. Congress votes against it, often with a lofty sense of moral righteousness. Belief systems have not caught up with the facts. One of the most cruel illustrations of this is the full generation which elapsed between the introduction of the child labor law and its final passage. Robert Lynd in *Knowledge for What?* lists other lags, as of 1940:

The ragged disparities in marriage and divorce laws among the several States.

The taboo against discussing venereal disease (now lifting).

The opposition of the American Medical Association to government aid in medicine

The resistance of almost 90 percent of the press to the social legislation of the 1930's

#### ARE WE GOING TO HIT SOMETHING?

Another curious paradox arising from the cultural lag is the ample financial support given by society to encourage more material inventions, and the meager support for social inventions to mitigate their effects.

It is a fearful thing to be aboard an exponential curve—something like an express train out of control. Ultimately, such curves run off the map. A penny at compound interest grows in a few centuries to a ball of gold the size of the planet. Nature often permits such curves to start, as in the multiplication of fruit flies, but she never maintains them for long. They always hit something and shrink with great suddenness.

Are we going to hit something? Ogburn is too careful a scientist to say. He does point out, however, that when an invention like the atomic bomb comes along, social scientists should be urged to do their utmost to find a social invention to cope with it. He does not believe it is possible deliberately to halt the rate of material invention. Can you imagine Congress passing a law to "halt progress"? The answer to the tensions caused by growth

curves seems to lie in encouraging steeper curves in social invention.

A social change, when measured statistically, is called a time series, and is described by zigzag lines which move over time, with a sweep or trend in one general direction. An appropriate equation, fitted by the method of least squares, runs through the middle of the zigzags and indicates the trend. We do not know why these trends rarely change their direction, although they are undoubtedly connected with culture patterns and probably with methods of education. Whatever the explanation, social trend lines in hundreds of cases show remarkable inertia. There is a lesson here for social engineers. If a trend cannot be changed radically, it is better to accept it and adjust your program to it. If you are determined to change it, prepare to see the shift take place slowly. Or else analyze the connection between the educational system and cultural change. So far, to my knowledge, no one has adequately realized this problem. Perhaps John Dewey came closest.

The exponential law casts a heavy shadow on the Great Man theory of progress. This theory holds in essence that without the giants of the past we would still be living in Mesopotamian mud huts. The exponential law, on the contrary, indicates that what determines new invention is not a giant intellect so much as the number of elements in the culture. Thus when physics reached a certain point of development in the seventeenth century, and a dynamic mathematics was needed to carry on, both Leibnitz and Newton invented the calculus. If neither had lived, calculus would have been invented by somebody else. History is filled with simultaneous inventions of this kind. We can expect more and more of them as knowledge accumulates.

If Columbus had died of plague before he discovered America, some other explorer would soon have found it. Why? Because the techniques of ship-building and navigation had reached a point where a man could sail into the unknown with a fair chance of getting back.

## THE INVENTION OF RADIO

Over the years Ogburn, together with other scientists, has developed many variations on the theme of Social Change. He has shown how the interrelated parts of modern culture are changing at unequal rates with consequent strains. He has traced the succeeding waves of new behavior which follow important inventions like the automobile and the radio. He has pushed trend curves boldly into the future to find out what the probable effects of a new invention are likely to be.

Take, for instance, his work on radio. In *Recent Social Trends* he lists 150 effects, of which 12 are in the direction of cultural diffusion, tending to "standardize" listeners. Some may deplore this tendency; others realize that a more homogeneous people may have less internal strife. Here are some effects of radio listed by Ogburn.

Regional differences becoming less pronounced.

Penetration of city musical and artistic culture into rural areas.

Distinction between social classes lessened.

Isolated regions brought into contact with world events.

Illiterates brought back into community life.

Concentration on fewer languages.

Canada, the United States, and Latin America drawn more closely together.

One item on the list reads: "Interest in sports increased by radio." True enough; who can forget those first championship boxing matches over the air! Not content with this single statement, Ogburn goes on to outline 15 derivative effects of radio in the area of sports, a kind of secondary wave. Among them

Big matches emphasized to the neglect of local matches.

Reputation of star athletes further inflated.

Reputation of star football coaches also inflated, plus an increase in their salaries.

Recruiting of players in rural areas greatly increased.

Colleges with high scholastic standards put at a disadvantage.

Reduction in special sports editions of newspapers.

Sixty-one effects following the invention of x-rays have been chronicled by Ogburn; 23 following rayon; 150 following the automobile—including a change in the whole pattern of courtship in America. The young man with the convertible has displaced the young man with the bouquet.

This is all very interesting and possibly all very scientific, you say, but what can one *do* with such studies? Ogburn offers us a monumental answer to that question, too. The United Air Lines retained him to predict the probable effects of the invention of the airplane over the next ten to twenty years, and his report runs to more than 700 pages. We are reminded early that there are some 50 variables to be considered in plotting the extrapolation. No one can know exactly what the place of civil aviation will be in 1970 or 1980, but an estimate based on trend curves looks like a safer probability than one based on a blind guess or on wishful thinking. Managers of airports, airplane companies, commercial airlines, federal, state, and city officials, real estate interests, all must now plan for the future on *some* basis. Meanwhile, the investments involved, both public and private, are enormous.

#### "ELEMENTARY, MY DEAR WATSON"

Sherlock Holmes, philosophizing on Boyle's Law of Gases, said to his friend Watson: "While the individual man is an insoluble puzzle, in the aggregate he becomes a mathematical certainty. You can never foretell what any one man will do, but you can say with precision what an average number will be up to. Individuals vary but percentages remain constant." Social scientists, using this statistical approach, can give community leaders invaluable advice about future problems.

The life expectancy of American males (or females) can be predicted with great accuracy, although it is impossible to foretell when Adam<sub>1</sub> or Eve<sub>2</sub> will die. Using probability theory, furthermore, margins of error can be calculated, indicating how far off a prediction may be—say plus or minus 4 percent. The Royal Society, we remember, started actuarial science three centuries ago. The United States Census is not a vast mass of

undigested figures as many people seem to think, but a helpful guide to programs for housing, schools, public services

In 1955 there were about 15 million persons in the New York metropolitan area. The Regional Plan Association, using census figures, predicted upwards of 19 million by 1975—an increase of 28 percent. This in turn called for a new survey “very much more imaginative than has been displayed in the past to plan for this massive addition,” and providing more transportation facilities, recreation centers, sewers, shopping centers, schools, and parking lots

### SCHOOLS AND HOUSES

Suppose we concentrate for a moment on schools—not desegregation this time, but classrooms, teachers, and textbooks. The National Citizens’ Committee for the Public Schools, headed by Beardsley Ruml,<sup>2</sup> predicted 12 million more children of school age in the population by 1965 than there were in 1954. This would bring the total school population to 48 million youngsters, a 33 percent increase, at a cost of \$3.5 billion more in 1965. For the whole nation to match the educational plant of New York State (tops for the country, though still inadequate), would cost \$17.1 billion more in 1965. No fewer than 950,000 new classrooms would be needed by 1965, at a capital cost of \$32 billion.

The building boom in houses which began after World War II is still booming. Are we building too many houses? For the whole United States, says Edmund Brunner,<sup>3</sup> that is not a difficult question to answer, and here is the way to go about it.

We know how many persons there are in the United States in each age group. Therefore we know how many are under twenty-one, and the probable number—based on past performance—who will leave school, enter the labor force, and marry, year by year. We know how many families will be formed, and how many “dwelling units” they will require. We know how

<sup>2</sup> Report summarized in *Time*, December 13, 1954.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum to the author.

many units burn up, or are torn down, every year, and how many new ones are now being built. Putting these figures together, it does not take an electronic brain to calculate how many units will be needed in the years ahead, and whether we are overbuilding or underbuilding.

On similar principles, scientists can calculate the probable size of the labor force ten years hence, the food requirements of future populations, the need for doctors, nurses, and engineers, the number of old people and their percentage of total population—the last a growing figure and full of thorny problems. Brunner estimates that population increases should solve the “farm problem” in the United States in another ten to twelve years, as agricultural surpluses are progressively consumed by urban eaters.

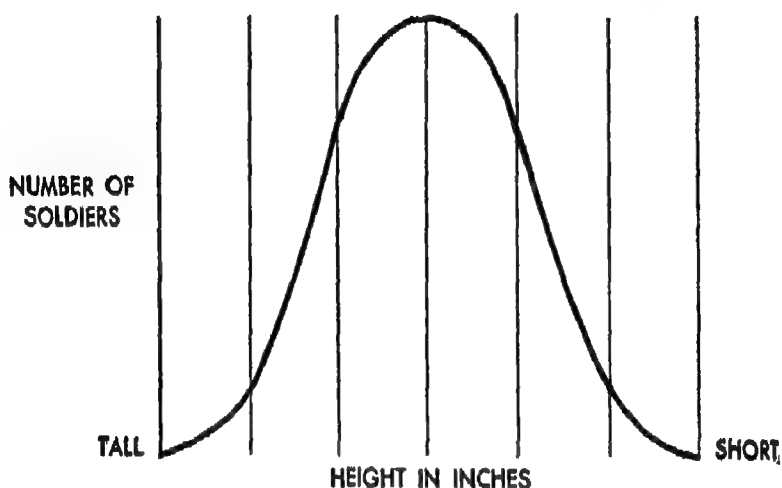
When social scientists in the mid-1930's looked at the 1930 census figures, says Brunner, they found that the United States had reached an all-time high in youth population, sixteen to twenty-four years of age. So they promptly urged a big housing program, especially as construction had meanwhile slowed down during the depression. They predicted that if this were *not* done, families would be doubling up by the 1940's, with a heavy strain on human relations. The program was not undertaken. American families were crowded as never before, often ready to tear each other apart—exactly as predicted.

### FAMOUS CURVE

Another statistical law which vitally affects human behavior is the frequency distribution curve. Biologists use it too, for it applies to all living things, as well as to many human characteristics and problems.

Take the height of men in the army. Line them up—the figures, not the men—the tallest at one end, the shortest at the other. The probability of a soldier being near the middle is great, of his being at either end is small. If we now plot the number of soldiers at the various points on the scale we will get the familiar bell-shaped curve.

The curve is a great help in making predictions about schools, desks, hospitals, markets, army uniforms and boots to be ordered, all manner of things. It is useful in plotting IQ's, and is even employed in marking examination papers.



It is also, I may add, the greatest destroyer known to man of the bad habit of overgeneralizing. With the frequency distribution curve in one's tool kit, no one can continue to say that all Mexicans are lazy, that all Swedes are blond, that all Russians are untrustworthy, or that all United States senators rival Socrates. Some do and some don't, as the anthropologists observe. Plot them on the curve

As modern living grows more complicated large plans for the future become more mandatory. Social scientists, like Ogburn and Brunner, with curves based on vital statistics and other dependable data, render an indispensable service. "Planning," somebody has said, "is intelligent coopération with the inevitable."



## In Darkest Middletown

In my library I have a "Middletown" shelf of a score of volumes, which I enjoy collecting as others collect ship models. The collection started in 1929 when I reviewed Robert and Helen Lynd's *Middletown* and found it new and exciting territory. Later, in a book about Mexico, I compared Middletown with Robert Redfield's study of Tepoztlan, an Aztec town on the Mexican plateau. This cross-cultural survey of mine, strictly an amateur performance, served to bring out some of the striking differences between handicraft societies and those of the machine age.

Clark Wissler said, in his introduction to the original *Middletown*: "We are always hearing that the study of society must be made objective. . . The realities of social science are what people do." Here then, for the first time, is a study of the things people do in a normal American small city, observed as social scientists would observe a town in darkest Africa. There had been plenty of earlier urban surveys in the United States and Britain, but they were primarily concerned with coal miners, or working girls, or with wages, housing, the cost of living.<sup>1</sup> The Lynds tried to comprehend the whole community. "A new field of science has been opened up," said Dr. Wissler, "the social anthropology of contemporary life."

There were 38,000 people in Middletown—which everybody now knows is Muncie, Indiana—when the Lynds arrived with their small staff in 1924. The great boom of the 1920's was fairly

<sup>1</sup>Famous pre-Middletown studies were *Life and Labor of the People in London*, by the Booths, and the *Pittsburgh Survey* of the Russell Sage Foundation. Rural sociologists had also made studies of American small communities, beginning with Warren H. Wilson's *Quaker Hill*.

launched, buoyed up by the soaring automotive industries Middletown had been chosen among many candidates because it was as American as a baked apple. Manufacturing was diversified, with the glass jar business prominent. Farmers came in from the rich surrounding corn lands to Saturday market at the county seat.

There were 42 churches in town and 6,300 automobiles. Said a factory worker from the South Side: "I'd go without a meal before I'd cut down on using the car." Said a police court judge after a difficult day: "The automobile has become a house of prostitution on wheels."

The Lynds stayed for nearly two years, studying the town in action under six main headings (1) getting a living, (2) making a home, (3) training the young, (4) using leisure, (5) going to church, (6) joining up. Before they got through, 454 active clubs and associations had been identified, including, along with the Chamber of Commerce, the Lions, and the Elks, an Ad Club, a Kill Kare Klub, and the Sew We Do Club for well-to-do matrons.

The Lynds gathered material by first-hand interviews, by questionnaire, by analyzing newspapers, by direct counting. They also obtained all relevant United States census figures covering the town, together with state and city statistics. When we finish reading the section on getting a living we know as never before the economy of the 1920's. We realize in an intimate, graphic way how the boys and girls that we see playing in the school yards of Middletown are later to be indiscriminately tumbled into the 400 occupations which the city affords. We see the shops, offices, factories in which they are to work; the machines they are to operate, the houses, bungalows, and shacks in which they are to live and raise their families; the stores in which they will buy their goods, the advertisements which will so often predetermine their wants, the editorials, sermons, service club speeches which will nourish their belief systems; the income groups into which they are bound to fall with the precision of a life expectancy table.

## IN THE NINETIES

The Middletown survey, furthermore, compares the 1920's with the 1890's. Wissler calls it "a new kind of history." The authors try to reconstruct the community as it looked a generation earlier. "A small river wanders through the town, and in 1890 when timber still stood on its banks, it was a pleasant stream for picnics, fishing, and boating, but it has shrunk today to a creek discolored by industrial chemicals and malodorous with the city's sewage."

Workingmen in 1924 still attend lyceums and listen to some of the old lecture topics—"Milton as an Educator"—but businessmen have given up this type of "culture" altogether. The singing societies of the nineties have disappeared, save for one working class exception. The Apollo Club, once favored by the bloods of the town, has long since collapsed. Where are 300 schoolboys to sing Gounod in the Opera House? The Art Students' League was organized in 1892, and members went sketching along the clear waters of White River. The Art Club of 1925 listens to lectures on the Gothic Period and never handles a brush or tube of paint. Music, like poetry and the other arts, is almost nonexistent among the men of Middletown in the era of Calvin Coolidge. In the light of Linton's universals this shows how abnormal Main Street has become.

Everyone rides in a car, goes to the movies; more and more people are turning on the radio. One salty old character came back to Middletown for a brief visit in 1924. "These people," he complained, "are afraid of something." The Lynds point out that amid an ideology celebrating the ruggedest kind of rugged individualism, nobody along Main Street dared to be different. Again and again the word "bewilderment" creeps into the text. Citizens are bewildered about their jobs, about money, about the new "gob feeder" in the glass factory, which can make glass bottles a hundred times faster than a hand blower, they are bewildered about marriage, religion, the growing role of government, about their children, about their very souls.

The old traditions survive—many survive today for that matter—but even in the twenties there is little blood in them. A pecuniary economy and mass production call insistently for new systems of belief, but these have not yet crystallized. The lag grows longer. Back of the Buicks and the backslapping, one feels in the Lynds' account the confusion of a generation which has lost its way.

### DOWN, DOWN, DOWN

The Lynds went to Middletown to check their findings in 1935, after ten years had gone by—four more years of boom, then six of depression. They wrote another report on it, called *Middletown in Transition*. At a time when employment is near capacity, it is almost incredible to recall how far the nation dropped in the great depression. By 1933, Middletown's storekeepers had lost 57 percent of their business compared with 1929—yet there were 6 percent more stores struggling to survive. Building construction fell to 5 percent of 1929 while factory payrolls were cut in half. Motor car sales dropped 78 percent, but gasoline sales only four percent; the cars were old, but people kept on driving them. Loan sharks did a thriving business. When General Motors tore the machinery out of their big plant and left town, it looked as though the end had come. A full quarter of Middletown was on relief.

Yet for two years following the stock market crash, the leaders of the town refused to admit that their symbols of progress—self-help, bigger motor cars, bigger bank accounts and land values—could ever be tarnished. Not until General Motors shut its plant did they face reality, and then only for a brief interval. In 1934 the first federal farm relief checks, like gentle rain on parched ground, began to irrigate the Saturday market, as farmers drove in to cash them. Soon Middletown's leaders recovered their standard credos . . . "When Mr. Landon is elected president—as the *Literary Digest* poll shows he is sure to be—everything will be safe and sound again."

Across the tracks<sup>2</sup> on the South Side, however, the workers had pretty well abandoned their predepression ideas, and were organizing unions as never before. The great sit-down strike era is close at hand, and we must remember that for every three townsmen on Main Street, there are seven workers across the tracks.

### THE MIDDLETOWN CREDO

In a chapter entitled "The Middletown Spirit," the Lynds preserve for the curious historian the credo of Midwest America in 1928. No fewer than 172 beliefs are categorically set down. As I scan the list today, I should estimate that about 100 of these beliefs have been rendered obsolete in whole or in part by the march of events. Some, of course, were specimens of cultural lag even when most fiercely held. Here is a sample lot:

That economic conditions are the result of natural order and cannot be changed by man-made laws.

That we always had depressions and always will.

That men won't work unless they have to.

That any man willing to work can get a job

That business makes all our employment.

That the open shop is the American way, and labor unions are foolish, if not wicked.

That all strikes are due to troublemakers.

That the individual must fend for himself and in the end gets what he deserves.

That the small businessman is the backbone of America.

That women cannot be expected to understand public problems.

That the American form of government is the final and ideal form.

That government is bad and politicians are the lowest form of life.

<sup>2</sup>"Across the tracks" is an important symbol in the American culture, dividing those who have arrived from those who have not.

That high tariffs mean protection to the American wage earner against the pauper labor of Europe.

That taxes are always evil.

That Christianity is the final form of religion.

That preachers are rather impractical people who wouldn't be likely to make good in business.

That you can't change human nature.

What happened in Middletown from 1929 to 1939 defied almost every canon of this credo. Main Street deplored federal aids for community survival and ridiculed them in a vast folk literature of stories about "boondoggling."<sup>8</sup> At the same time it clawed like a drowning man for more federal relief. Its belief systems were thus in direct opposition to its tangible behavior—creating a kind of community schizophrenia.

So Middletown learned nothing from a world war, a crazy stock market boom, and a depression which made beggars of a quarter of its people? No, it is not so simple as that. Middletown, like every community, must have a suit of symbolic clothes. If no new styles are on the market the old will have to do. Middletown—at least the North Side—still wears the ancient garments, but the simple faith has gone. Below the surface, Middletown is in profound ideological turmoil and transition.

### PLAINVILLE, USA

Running along my book shelf, we pick out *Plainville, USA*, by James West. The author, an anthropologist, knew exactly the kind of town he wanted to study. After a long search he found a rural community of under 1,000 people in the Midwest which fitted his specifications. He made the analysis alone, between June, 1939, and August, 1941, as part of a larger study on acculturation, financed by Columbia and directed by Ralph Linton.

Plainville is a far less complicated community than Middletown. There are no factories, and marginal farming is the principal way to make a living. Yet the same contradiction is to be found out here on the prairies as along the Wabash. *People do*

<sup>8</sup> Foolish and wasteful make-work programs.

*not believe in what they are in fact doing.* During the great depression Plainville shifted from an individualistic to a welfare economy—it had to or starve—but almost nobody approves of it. Charity and relief in 1940 have become functions of the federal government, except for a little private charity still carried on by one church. All the federal agencies are utilized to the fullest extent, yet they are denounced constantly for “ruining this country,” “making people unwilling to work,” “meddling with other people’s business. . . .”

A whole new form of rural social organization has been instituted under the government’s agricultural program—subsidized prices for crops, soil conservation work, farm credit, rural electrification, government-promoted cooperatives, and the rest. The older system of farm operation, social aims, and personal security is disintegrating, but reaction to the new pattern is turbulent. Nowhere have I seen the agricultural revolution which has struck America since 1933 more vividly described.

Mr. West’s working methods are interesting. He made the rounds of “several notable loafing centers,” collected gossip and news at every opportunity, attended church bazaars, basket dinners, funerals, baseball games, pie suppers, public auctions. He taught in the high school as a substitute when a teacher was sick, and joined a number of clubs and organizations. Afternoon and evening were often spent in interviews. These interviews varied from a total of two hours to several hundred hours per person. He took life histories of eight adults, ranging from 30,000 to 75,000 words each. He hired high school students to record their “autobiographies,” some running to 50,000 words, under the general style of “I Remember.”

He ransacked the county courthouse records, and those of the AAA, FSA, and other federal agencies; he combed files of the weekly newspaper back to 1885. He read genealogies and the *History of Woodland County*. He sums up this material with the surprising statement: “Even in an isolated community like Plainville, there exists so vast a body of relevant printed and other documentary material, that no one could read it all

in a lifetime." Mr. West's freestyle interviewing contrasts with the structured interviews of rural sociologists, where in some cases every respondent is asked the same series of questions.

### DEEP SOUTH

Beside *Plainville* on the shelf is *Deep South*. Four social scientists, trained at Harvard, lived for a year and a half in the 1920's in a southern city of 10,000, studying its culture. More than 5,000 pages of typewritten notes form the basis for the book, together with statistical records of the town and the surrounding countryside. The investigators were two married couples, one couple white, one Negro, who thus had unparalleled opportunity to check events from both sides of the color line.

*Deep South*, by Davis and Gardner, describes the plantation system, both before and after the Civil War. We are shown the romantic memories which are preserved in the belief systems of the upper class, and also the tangible facts of history and sociology.

Ruth and Josephine took up the fight and went back generations telling each other things about their families, digging up things that nobody wants to hear about. That is the way people do here. If they once get mad with you, they don't just be mad with you—they go back as far as they can—telling stories on each other's ancestors.

The greatest insult possible in "Old City" is to defame one's "original ancestor," the cotton planter who founded the family. No attention is paid to *his* forbears—they can be burglars or pirates—it does not matter. The whole belief system of the upper class comes to rest about the year 1840. Nothing since then amounts to much. Naturally this emphasis affects all the town's behavior—10,000 people walking slowly backward. "A very old woman may be said to be a symbol of the upper class group. . . . The ritual and deference surrounding her attendance at a group gathering—generally limited by her great age to afternoon tea—is suggestive of royalty" She is the cherished link with the past, the closest living symbol of "the old days."

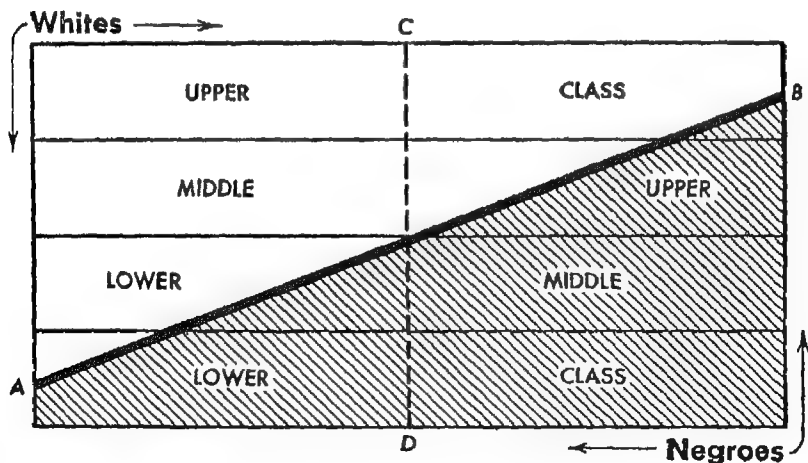
In the old days the planter aristocracy was recognized as



superior to all white freemen, who in turn were superior to all black slaves. This pattern was destroyed in the Civil War, but after some floundering in the dark days of reconstruction, "a new social system in Old City and its countryside began to evolve. It, too, organized the relation of Negroes and whites among themselves and with each other." It divided the occupations carefully, too—Negroes getting the more unpleasant tasks.

### CLASS AND CASTE

A curious and interesting change gradually took place. Nobody should write seriously about race relations in America without mastering this change, for it extends throughout the deep South. The investigators call it the emergence of a *class and caste system*.<sup>4</sup> Educated Negroes, such as doctors and professional people, "recognize themselves and *are recognized* as being different from the laborers and domestics who now work for both whites and Negroes." The following diagram helps to visualize the system.



The line AB is the caste line, dividing Negroes from whites. No Negro may ever marry a white person. Other rules may be broken, this one never. A caste system by definition forbids

<sup>4</sup> We referred to it earlier in Chapter 12 when discussing race.

intermarriage across a caste line, and considers any offspring of mixed unions illegitimate.

But on the Negro side of the line, as well as on the white, classes form—upper, middle, and lower. The white middle class has standards similar to the Negro upper class; the white lower to the Negro middle class. People can marry across *class* lines, and can move up and down across the lines. It is not easy or frequent, but it does happen. This mobility is what distinguishes a class from a caste system. In the latter one is frozen, in the former he can move.

Before the Civil War the line AB was not skewed but *horizontal*; there were no Negro professional people, no Negro upper class. Slaves were in the subcellar, considered a different species altogether. Will the line AB continue to revolve until it approximates CD? Then the races would be truly equal, though still separate.

#### OTHER MIDDLETOWNS

There are many more books on the shelf. Here is *Preface to Peasantry*, a study of two Black Belt counties by Arthur F. Raper, particularly interesting for its description of how the New Deal came to darkest Georgia. To jump 5,000 miles north, here is *Arctic Village* by the late Robert Marshall. By profession a forester, Mr. Marshall determined IQ's and other data about every person in a small Alaskan town, including the Eskimos. He lived there all winter, writing notes in his shack at night.

Here is *Small Town Stuff* by Albert Blumenthal, a keen analysis of a mining town in Montana; *Small Town* by Granville Hicks, the most readable of the lot but the most personal. Here is *Wilton: A Study of Suburbanization* (from where I am writing I can almost throw a stone into Wilton), *Elmtown's Youth*, and a dozen more.

#### DOCUMENTARY

Let us take down *Home Town: The Face of America* by Sherwood Anderson, and look over the photographs. This is a

special kind of scientific record, one which may have a considerable future. Instead of a man with a notebook, we have a man with a camera. Anderson's prose is, as usual, admirable, but the pictures tell us even more.

To get these pictures, Roy Stryker of the Farm Security Administration dispatched expert photographers all over America with instructions to record what people were doing—no posing, no retouching, no tricks; the straight documentary story. More than 35,000 negatives were collected. *Home Town*, accordingly, is not an account of a specific community, but a generalized picture of small-town life in the 1930's—Main Street, the Methodist Church, Town Meeting, Back of the Tracks, the Civil War Monument, the Church Supper, the Drug Store, One Room School, Front Porch, Saloon, Movie House, Shacktown, Poker Game, Filling Station, Service Club Lunch, Revival Meeting, Town Constable. . . .

We have in this Stryker collection a kind of visual sampling report—telling more, in one way, than any table of figures. . . . Cornfields in Iowa to make a farmer's mouth water, dust and drought in Colorado to dry anybody's throat, pictures of sunny rural peace, terrible pictures of rural poverty. The weathered faces of men, the faces of women sagging with household drudgery, the pinched faces of children, the cow barn, the farmer's tools, the sharecropper's rags—"they are all here, photographed in their context, in relation to their environment. In rows of filing cabinets they wait for today's town planner and tomorrow's historian."

### YANKEE CITY

So we come to the published volumes of the Yankee City series—the most ambitious Middletown to date. It is the costliest, most searching and technical of them all. Thirty scientists worked on it over a five-year period from 1930 to 1934—though they were not all working at once.

W. Lloyd Warner, back from a three-year study of Stone Age peoples in Australia, was appointed director. With him were associated scientists from Harvard, Chicago, and Yale, and

Paul S. Lunt was his first lieutenant. The Crane Memorial Fund underwrote the project.

Two regions in America had been selected as having the most stable local cultures—New England and the South. A city was chosen in each region for intensive analysis. Of the southern project we have already caught a glimpse in *Deep South*. The northern one was far more ambitious. The city chosen was Newburyport, Massachusetts, once a great clipper-ship port at the mouth of the Merrimack river. Now its seafaring activities have declined to a little clamming along the mud flats, but factories making shoes, silverware, and other products keep the people employed in normal times. The old China trade families on Hill Street, each in its stately colonial mansion crowned by a captain's walk, rival the plantation families of Old City in pride of ancestors. The whole town, on the rising ground above the river, displays an architecture more gracious than America has built for a hundred years.

When the social scientists moved in, there were 17,000 men, women, and children in Yankee City. When they moved out, they carried punch cards for every citizen, with notations showing age, sex, class, status, occupation, clubs, religion, political affiliation, housing, health, income, expenditures, property owned, education, magazines read—and Heaven knows what. By running the cards through a machine, they could classify everyone in town in every conceivable manner. No community of this size ever had such a going over.

The research staff was particularly interested in the class structure of Yankee City. Who outranked whom—in the family system, in the factory, in ethnic groups like the Irish, Jews, Poles, French Canadians, Negroes? It was concerned with housing, property rights, sources of income, clubs and cliques, churches, schools, and the political framework of the town. . . . It is all there, in immense detail.

In the middle sections of Volume I we find a novel experiment in social science. Here are a dozen very human short stories,

drawn from the punch cards and the notebooks, but with fictitious names. One of them begins like this.

Mr. Charles Watson, the superintendent of the cemetery, squatted on his haunches while he supervised the pick-and-shovel activities of two workmen. It was hot. . . . A shoveler stopped his work and lit a cigaret. "Why the hell can't Phil Starr leave his old man and old lady rest in peace? Why they've been down in this grave thirty years. And now, by God, he's digging them up and running all over town with them. I say once they're buried, let them stay buried."

And another:

Going home after he had said goodnight, Sam Jones crawled in bed beside his wife, and the springs sank in the middle. Three small children were asleep on a mattress in the corner of the room. Two adolescent daughters slept on cots next to the wood stove in the kitchen. . . . It had suddenly turned bitter cold. The kitchen table was still littered with the remains of the evening meal.

These stories have an effect like the photographs in *Small Town*; they tell about people in a vivid human way and put flesh and blood on the cold statistical tables and the charts.

### THE SIX CLASSES

The research staff had not been long in town before a cherished hypothesis was upset. They began their labors believing that the fundamental structure of American society was *economic*—rich on top, poor on the bottom—and that the richer you were the more prestige you had. But evidence began to accumulate which made it difficult to accept this simple thesis. Six classes were finally identified by the people of the town themselves. "She's one of those Hill Street snobs. . . ." "He runs around with the Riverbrook gang. . . ." There were borderline cases, of course, but after thousands of interviews, nearly everyone in town was placed in one of six classes as follows

- |                |                 |                |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Upper upper | 3. Upper middle | 5. Upper lower |
| 2. Lower upper | 4. Lower middle | 6. Lower lower |

It was found that the rich were not necessarily on top, nor the poor necessarily on the bottom. The richest class was the lower upper, while some of the old families in the upper upper class were poor as church mice. Also it was interesting to note that many of the clammers in the lower lower class, who lived in shacks along the river, were descended from the same Anglo-Saxon forebears as the great folk on Hill Street. When fate beckoned they had preferred clammin' to smuggling.

This, observe, was a class system, not a caste system. Observe, too, that it bore little relation to the Marxist "class struggle." People moved up and down from class to class, but mostly up; and occasionally they married across class lines. The upper uppers were without exception old Yankee stock, but the Irish were breaking into the lower upper, Jews and Italians into the upper middle. It is an exhilarating sight to see steerage immigrants from the old country land first in the lower lower, and then ascend as in a slow elevator, class by class, while a misfit from Hill Street flashes by them on his way to the bottom.<sup>5</sup>

New York City has long exemplified a similar process. The latest wave of immigrants—beginning with the Irish after the starvation time of 1848, and continuing with Germans, Jews, Italians, Greeks, Slavs, and so on—starts on the bottom, with the worst housing, the least attention by all city services except the police, the minimum of prestige. All earlier waves of immigrants, including the original Dutch and the English, look down on them as the dregs of humanity. Gradually they ascend, sometimes to the highest levels—making a shambles incidentally of the *New York Social Register*—as new waves come in under them.

The books on my Middletown shelf may not always represent social science<sup>1</sup> as defined earlier, but the research staffs use many of the latest scientific methods, and their techniques continually improve. A survey of intergroup relations begun in

<sup>5</sup> American class structures are further analyzed in Warner's *Democracy in Jonesville*.

Elmira, New York, may turn out to be the most rigorously scientific of all.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile the information gathered and the conclusions drawn can be helpful to everyone interested in improving his town's performance—mayors, judges, chiefs of police, city planners, social workers, school boards, traffic engineers, housing authorities. The scientists take the town apart, but carefully and with due respect, allowing the rest of us to see for the first time its intricate, closely woven structure, and what makes it run.

John P. Marquand used some of the "Yankee City" material in writing what many believe to be his best novel, *Point of No Return*. Is it too much to expect that social science research will give novelists and playwrights both a rich mine of new material, and a closer check on the credibility of plots and characters? Instead of another course in How to Write, the aspiring novelist might take one in anthropology

<sup>6</sup> Conducted by Cornell Studies on Intergroup Relations, under an eight-year grant from Rockefeller Foundation.

## Managing Men

The massive changes in human relations that have come over many large American firms in the last generation were highlighted for me in a recent conversation. I was talking to the vice president of a huge corporation, and he told me about the three presidents he had served under since he joined the company, fresh out of college, in 1909.

"My first boss," he said, "was a complete autocrat. He made all the big decisions, and would have fired any of us who raised a question. He knew all the answers, and we did what we were told, yes sir, right down the line of management. Like the Army." The second president was an autocrat too, but he didn't believe in himself with the sublime conviction of number one. On big decisions he would ask for advice occasionally, and didn't claim to know all the answers. Once in a while you could talk to him as a human being.

"The president we have now," he went on, "has the ultimate power, of course, but none of us thinks of him as an autocrat. He goes in for open communication, group decisions, decentralization of authority, even opinion polls of workers. He has more experts on human relations around the shop than you can shake a stick at. Once it was only lawyers. Then came the engineers and accountants. Now the place is crawling with industrial psychologists."

"Is this shift typical of other businesses too?" I asked him.

"Yes," he said, "some executives go gladly, some grumble, but we're all headed in that direction."



"And how about these industrial psychologists? Do they know all the answers?"

"Well, most of them never met a factory payroll, but they have something management wants. They can put you wise to angles you never thought of before. It's probably being overdone, and there are some quacks—take that Dr. Y with his Freudian motivations, but we'll never go back to the czardom of my first president. For one thing, the company has almost three times as many employees as it had in 1909. When an organization gets as big as that, you've got to use some science if you're going to manage it at all."

#### THE FACTORY AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Businessmen abroad are puzzled by these changes. In Europe, the chief concern of management is to manage money, materials, machines—and if possible markets. In the United States it is increasingly the management of men, and so becomes ever more deeply involved with the behavior sciences. Worker and boss in Europe are still heavily influenced by the class struggle concept—what one side gains the other side loses. Over here, a more flexible class system, plus the mass production idea of expanding markets—with gains for both worker and stockholder, and even consumer—have provided scanty nourishment for the Marxian philosophy.

Indeed some executives have gone beyond the managing of men to the managing of a social system. F. S. Roethlisberger of the Harvard Business School puts it this way:

I should like to suggest that the manager is neither managing men nor managing work, but that he is managing a coordinated set of activities, he is administering a *social system*. That is the human relations approach as contrasted with any approach which implies that people at work can be considered separately from their work.

This puts the culture concept into industrial relations. When a factory is thought of as a social system—a functioning community like Middletown or Plainville—the behavior of workers

and managers makes sense. When it is regarded as an exhibit in the class struggle, or in paternalism, or as a kind of zoo stocked with Economic Men, the sense goes out of it, and about all the investigator can do is to cuss human nature and argue whether the boss or the worker is the more to blame.

Somebody has said that you can lead good men through the fires of hell, but that you can't drive them across the sidewalk. The autocratic manager got the work out, but at a cost. He thought most people "dumb," distrusted "human nature," and believed firmly in Economic Man, i.e., that the pocketbook motive was supreme. Business existed solely to make a profit for its owners, and notions of public service were tosh. He had no conception of democratic leadership, of staff decisions, or workers' participation. Unions were anathema, and he never tired of declaring that "what we need around here is more discipline." One often found a picture of Napoleon on his office wall. Beatrice Webb, investigating labor records in Britain many years ago, kept finding the statement: "Water plentiful and labor docile"—which suited Mr. Big right down to the ground.

Napoleons are not extinct in America, especially in little business, but the problems of our giant corporations, now operating in harness with giant labor unions, have grown altogether too much for them. Mr. Sewell Avery may have been the last of the Great Tycoons.

#### NEEDED: MORE SCIENCE

The American Management Association, composed of executives in many industries, is now deeply committed to more science, and fewer Napoleons in the front office. "Most individuals readily agree," said Lawrence A. Appley, president of the Association, "that as much should be known about the people of an organization as about the operations . . . The great danger lies in the assumption that all that needs to be known about people is already known by those who know it. That assumption is loaded with dynamite—and has blown up in the

hands of many a management." Mr. Appley argues for more research in human relations. After a visit to the tremendous laboratories of the General Electric Company at Schenectady, he hopes that some day he will see "the same fine facilities, the equivalent talent, the excellent environment for research, devoted to human resources."<sup>1</sup>

American businessmen—and some union leaders, too—are already spending millions of dollars a year on social science research and consulting work. Here is a list of problems on which management wants help, and is willing to pay handsomely for it:

1. *Incentives* What makes the workers work? The carrot and stick idea is an indifferent answer Will profit-sharing systems help?
2. *Two-way communication*. How can we get our story down to the rank and file? How can they get theirs up to us?
3. *Decision-making*. How can vital decisions be made most reliably? How tie them effectively to the facts? What about group decisions? What about decentralizing decisions—pushing them down the line? What kind of decisions can be pushed down the line?
4. How can we *pick executives* with less uncertainty?
5. How can we mold various *levels of management* into a better team? How can we hold more effective executive *meetings*?
6. How can we deal more intelligently with powerful *unions*?
7. What can we do about *absenteeism*? About *safety*?
8. How can we *train foremen* better? And new *employees*?
9. How shall we handle *technological displacement* due to automation, or to any large shifts from handwork to machine?
10. What are the best methods for administering *pension systems* and *fringe benefits* generally? (Work for economists, psychologists, and medical experts, combined.)
11. How should we read the *economic weather map*, and adapt our business to it? Inflation, deflation, what is the outlook?
12. How do we come to terms with the *community* which surrounds our factory? Does it control the social system inside the factory?

<sup>1</sup> The General Electric Company has purchased a large estate at Crotonville, N. Y., for a laboratory in human relations to rival its engineering laboratories.

These are large questions. Social scientists are far from solving all of them, but their knowledge keeps growing. We can only select for discussion a handful of illustrations from the expanding field. Suppose we begin with the most famous piece of scientific research so far done in labor-management relations. The story has often been told, but I find it a useful bench mark.

### THE HAWTHORNE EXPERIMENTS

Elton Mayo, who fathered this study, was born in Australia, lived for a while in England, and then became a professor at the Harvard Business School, where he taught and worked for 25 years. He died in 1949. He might have been a physicist, an entomologist, a surgeon—he had that kind of mind. He wanted to know, and he doubted what was known. No one who met him can forget his stimulating talk and blazing blue eyes. Mayo was not the originator of research in labor-management relations, he stood on the shoulders of other men, for instance, Carleton Parker and Clarence J. Hicks. Even Frederick W. Taylor, with time studies of bricklayers and steel workers, had put some knowledge of human relations into the storehouse.

Here is a group of six girls, sitting in a small room in a large factory in the town of Hawthorne, near Chicago. On the bench before them are small metal parts in trays, to be assembled into a telephone "relay"—which looks something like a pocket whistle. Their nimble fingers fly. When a relay is completed, every minute or so, it is dropped into a chute and automatically counted. The production rate of each girl, and of the group, can thus be figured per hour, per day, per year.

In the back of the room sits a man with a notebook, watching everything that happens, day in, day out, for five years, beginning in 1927. (He has substitutes from time to time.) The girls do not resent him, they come to like him and often tell their troubles to him. They learn to trust him as a kind of father confessor, and he respects their confidence. He represents the Western Electric Company, and the Harvard School of Busi-

ness Administration, which are jointly making the experiment under Mayo's direction.

In experiments for the Fatigue Institute in England, during World War I, Mayo had worked with factory employees before. He found that they often produced more munitions in a ten-hour day than in a twelve-hour day. This was contrary to common sense, but not to human nature—which may tire and run down when worked too long. The girls at Hawthorne were a test group, being compared with a control group assembling relays in a larger room. The object of the experiment was to determine the effect on output of various changes in hours, in wages, rest periods, piecework, and so on. The assumptions were that higher wages would increase output, shorter hours decrease it—the usual common-sense assumptions.

Before the experiment was a year old, these preconceptions had been seriously undermined. What was the matter with these girls? Why didn't they behave the way they were expected to behave? Being scientists, the investigators continued to keep a faithful record of what happened even if they were in the dark as to what caused it. The mystery story developed like this

The first seven weeks were devoted to establishing a base period. The girls averaged 2,400 relays a week each, and worked a regular 48-hour week, including Saturdays, like the rest of the plant.

They were then put on a piecework basis for eight weeks. Output went up.

They were given two rest pauses, morning and afternoon, for five weeks. Output went up again.

The rest pauses were lengthened. Output went up sharply.

Six rest pauses were tried and output fell off slightly. The girls complained that their rhythm was broken.

Then back to two rest pauses. Output went up again.

Hours reduced for a seven-week period. Output went up.

So it continued, trial after trial, each one lasting for some weeks. Whatever new factor was introduced, the number of relays coming through the counters increased, with the one exception noted. The research staff began to lose sleep as their

assumptions disintegrated. Some force they could not measure was pushing output up, no matter how they shifted hours, wages, rest pauses.

They prepared then for a supreme test. Take away everything given to the girls over all the periods, and go back to where the experiment started—48 hours, no rest pauses, no hot lunch on the company, no piecework, no Saturday holiday, nothing. The supreme test lasted 12 weeks. *Output jumped to an all-time high—3,000 relays per week!*

The scientists were as disorganized as their assumptions. They had tried to return the girls to the original conditions of the experiment, but the original conditions had disappeared. The experiment had transformed the group; the girls no longer possessed the characteristics they had started with. What was this mysterious X which had thrust itself into the experiment? The staff began looking for it all over the factory.

*They finally found it in the girls themselves.* The workers' attitudes had changed. The mysterious X was the way the girls now felt about their work. By putting them in a little friendly society of their own, by consulting them often, the scientists had caused a psychological change in these young women and given them a new sense of their status and value. The girls were no longer cogs in an impersonal, pecuniary machine; they were helping in a small way to direct the machine. So their output went up no matter how conditions were changed under them.<sup>2</sup> The investigators concluded that this happened because the girls were recognized, because they felt *important*. They had found work whose purpose they could clearly see and their interest was deeply engaged. So they performed their tasks faster and better than ever before in their lives.

Since the invention of the steam engine most factory managers had regarded workers as "hands"—a part, and on the whole an unreliable part, of the cost of production. "Labor" was a commodity, to be bought and sold like pig iron. Sometimes, by way

<sup>2</sup> Of course, if physical conditions had been changed beyond tolerable limits, output would have been affected. See account by F. J. Roethlisberger.

of contrast, a paternalistic manager treated his workers like little children, to be given candy and petted. The Hawthorne experiment broke down these illusions and proved that the way to make workers work hard and willingly lay in two basic and allied principles: *First*, make the worker realize that his work is important, and that he is important. *Second*, accept the fact that a factory is part of society. Under its roof society must function in its accustomed ways. Bands and teams and groups will form. They must be allowed for, respected, and if possible utilized.

#### FOURTEEN MEN

The research staff then set up their instruments in another room in the Hawthorne plant where 14 men were engaged in "bank wiring," which means attaching wires to switches for certain kinds of telephone equipment. Nine men are wirers, three are solderers, two are inspectors. In another frame of reference, four are Czechs, three Germans, three Yankees, two are Poles, one is Armenian, and one Irish—an average Chicago ethnic cocktail.

These men have somehow become a team, a little society, inside the Hawthorne plant of 20,000 workers. Unlike the group of relay girls, however, this society does not increase output—which is one reason it is being studied. Not only was the team formed spontaneously, but natural leaders have arisen. The managers of the plant are sublimely unaware of the strength and toughness of this outfit. The 14-man team is not opposed to management but comparatively indifferent to it, having more important matters to attend to. It is strictly a cultural phenomenon, not an economic one. The men are not concerned with the amount of money they get nearly as much as they are concerned with how their wages compare with Tom's and Jerry's. Relativity is what counts with them.

The company has recently adopted an incentive pay plan: the more work an employee does, the more he earns. It is a fair plan, and contains no speed-up provision. Management assumes it will increase production. It does nothing of the kind. The

team members hold to a flat 6,000 units a day, no more, no less—though they could readily turn out 7,000 units without fatigue. If some member gets ambitious, the gang slaps him down. There is no apparent relation between an individual's ability and his output. The team does not appear to act in accordance with its pecuniary interests at all. Why?

More racking of brains for the research staff. Why don't workers earn more money when they have a fair and honest chance to do so? The answer seemed to be that the men in the bank wiring room were more interested in maintaining their group relations than in cash. They were afraid, too, that a speed-up might be hidden in the plan. This was a result which neither the incentive plan nor the management was prepared to cope with. Yet any management which ignores the feelings, sentiments, belief systems of the workers is operating in the dark.

The great plant at Hawthorne was found to be full of similar informal groups and teams, powered by leaders whom nobody in authority had ever selected. They exerted a rigid control over "rate busters"—who turned out too much work; over "chiselers"—who turned out too little; over "squealers"—who told on group members. The life of a squealer could be made very unhappy indeed.

It was found that efficiency engineers had tried in the past to break up informal groups, hoping to free individuals for greater production. This policy looked well on paper, but when it was put into effect, time and again production went down. The engineers had unwittingly deprived the worker of the thing which chiefly gave meaning to his work, and without which his full coöperation was impossible. He wanted to "belong."

#### AIRCRAFT PLANT TEAM

During the war, social scientists made a study for the government of labor-management relations in California aircraft factories. Why, they were asked, were labor turnover and absenteeism so high? This is what they found.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Reported by Elton Mayo and G. F. F. Lombard. See Bibliography.



"John Briggs" is a team leader in Department Z. Nobody appointed him, he just is, and every worker in that end of the shop knows it. One day John goes to the supervisor to present a grievance for one of his team members—a little matter, easily straightened out. The supervisor, who is having an off day and dislikes John anyway, fires him without even hearing the grievance. A team leader is lost who the management did not even know existed.

John had been building up production in Department Z the way a good football coach builds a random collection of rookies into a striking force. The research men discovered that he was boosting morale and could relieve the foreman of many problems of minor discipline—a real tower of strength. And now he is walking out the gate, burning with resentment at the supervisor and the company. The team he led has lost its structure. In the front office, the chart makers presently begin to wonder why output in Department Z has taken a nose dive.

It is useless, the scientists say, for management to ban informal groups. They will form anyway; they seem to be as natural as falling in love. Well-informed managers now are utilizing this drive, and even organizing groups deliberately. It was found in this California experiment that most absenteeism and labor turnover came from workers who did not make a team, who perhaps had no chance to do so. Thus they had no social life in the factory, nothing to involve their interest and loyalty. Again and again we come back to the first principle of the behavior sciences man is a social animal.

You can readily see what has happened in these experiments. Scientists are at last uncovering some of the basic theory of human relations on the job. Before Hawthorne, we had a little common sense, no underlying theory, and a great deal of plain, loud dogma from both managers and workers. Now we are beginning to understand what makes workers work, and to test the knowledge in controlled experiments.

## A MILLION FOREMEN

The new understanding was applied on a grand scale in the Training Within Industry program during World War II.<sup>4</sup> Under the War Manpower Commission, more than a million foremen were taught methods for handling workers under them, based on the recognition that they were human beings in a social structure. In one simple technique, the foreman may straighten out a situation in the factory by letting Bill tell him about the trouble at home. This is a long way from the old-time foreman who was asked,

"How do you handle a new employee?"

"I jest stand there . . . and stare him down to kinda show him how dumb he is."

"And then?"

"Then I spit. . . ."

The Job Relations Course in the TWI programs gave every foreman a little blue card with these printed reminders:

Let each worker know how he is getting along.

Give credit when due; tell him while it's hot.

Tell people in *advance* about changes that will affect them. Tell them why.

Look for ability not now being used.

People must be treated as individuals, not numbers on the payroll.

In any given problem, *first get the facts*, then weigh and decide, and only then take action. Afterwards be sure to check results.

This problem-solving technique for foremen, you will note, is based firmly on the scientific method.

<sup>4</sup> See report edited by Walter Dietz and Frances Kirkpatrick.

## The Cause and Cure of Strikes

On a cold March day at the bottom of the great depression, 1,500 workers walked out of the dozen shoe factories in Newburyport, Massachusetts, almost without warning.<sup>1</sup> They struck with such impact that every factory was closed tight, not a man remained at his bench. The principal industry of the town shut down, at a time when work was very hard to get, and remained shut for a month. In two weeks' time the strikers were completely organized and began picketing effectively. Two weeks later the managers recognized the union. Arbitration by the state board was then accepted, and gave the workers nearly everything they had struck for.

The managers were dumfounded by this rush of events. Again and again they had said that their employees were too sensible to go on strike. Yankee City workers had never been thoroughly organized, and union men from the shoe factories of Haverhill and Lynn complained that they couldn't be organized—they were too obstinate and independent. Some of the workers themselves just before the walkout had told the research staff there would be no strike. Then the impossible happened!

Foreigners and Yankees of ten generations, men and women, the very old and very young, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants—the whole heterogeneous mass of workers left their benches, and in a few hours wiped out most of the basic production from which Yankee City earned its living. Not only did they strike and

<sup>1</sup> Volume 4 of the Yankee City series is devoted to this strike.

soundly defeat management, but they organized themselves and joined an industrial union. . . .

### EXPLANATIONS

How could this have happened? To find the real causes required months of study. Explanations, however, were freely offered within ten minutes of the walkout. Everyone naturally asked the reason, and everyone had his own private answer. It was the *depression*, said a manager; *low wages*, said a worker; a *plot of the rich*, said a Greek shoe cutter, a *red plot*, said a superintendent; *union agitators*, said a Hill Street gentleman. . . . "Each man, owner and worker and townsman, spoke his own brand of economic determinism."

Plenty of noneconomic determinism was offered, too, and many scapegoats. "It's the foreigners," said the Irish-Americans, thinking of recently arrived Greeks, Poles, and Armenians. "It's the Irish," said some of those whose forebears had landed earlier "It's those New York Jews"—meaning the financial syndicate which now owned the shoe factories.

The research staff worked overtime, interviewing managers, workers, union organizers, tradesmen, city officials, government arbitrators. "All of them told us why the strike had happened. Each told us but part of the truth; no one knew all of it." In every account, important characteristics were left out.

If social science is to be of any worth to us it must be capable first of all of adding significance and meaning to human behavior which will give us deeper insight into human life, and explain more fully why human beings act the way they do.

Among the questions in Newburyport were these. In a community with few previous strikes and no successful ones, why did the workers suddenly walk out *en masse*, hold their ranks firmly, and win their demands? Again: How could a strong labor organization rise in a town where unions hitherto had hardly achieved a toe hold? What, in short, were the *real* rea-

sons for the strike, as contrasted with the alleged reasons so freely offered?

It did not take long for the scientists to agree that one real reason *was* the depression. Yankee City, like Middletown, in Indiana, had been hit hard. A clerk in the local relief office reported: "Last Tuesday I saw 360 people here, and yesterday 240. . . . We have two doctors, a minister, lawyers, businessmen on relief—people you'd never believe could be on our books." Citizens were breaking up furniture to burn in their stoves; some were literally going hungry.

Depression, low wages, rapid style changes in shoemaking, waiting around the shop without pay, all had contributed economic reasons for the explosion. But they did not explain nearly enough

#### TRACING BACK

So the scientists began delving into the past. They constructed an economic and social history of Yankee City since its founding in 1635. They built a technological ladder, showing inventions and changes in shoe manufacturing. With the help of John R. Commons' study,<sup>2</sup> they reconstructed the labor history of the industry; and with a book by Emile Durkheim, they worked out the development of machines and division of labor which led to the mass production of shoes.

When settlers first came to the Merrimack Valley they made their own shoes, as one of the winter tasks. Then came the itinerant cobbler with his tools, to process the hides which the family had cured. He would live in the house with them for weeks, while he measured feet from baby to grandfather, and shod them for the coming year. His pay was mostly board and lodging.

About 1760, the so-called "ten-foot shops" were set up to make shoes to order for the local folk. A customer who went to be measured "bespoke" his order, and the shoemaker pro-

<sup>2</sup> "American Shoemakers, 1648-1895," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1909.

duced the complete article. Later the first entrepreneur, or capitalist, appeared. He hired workers to make shoes and then he sold them in the immediate neighborhood. Specialization began; some workers made soles and some made uppers, but there were no machines.

So we come to the great change. In 1852 a machine for stitching uppers was invented, and within a decade many other tasks had been mechanized. The saving in labor costs per pair of shoes was fabulous, sometimes up to 90 percent of the old hand cost. Where an expert hand laster could process 50 pairs a day, the lasting machine spewed out 700 pairs. The shoes themselves changed only in detail, but the process of manufacture shifted from a single skilled trade, carried on by a craftsman from start to finish, to a process involving hundreds of operations per pair, most of them done by machine. Workers no longer owned their tools; they had no part in designing the machines they were asked to operate, and no way of predicting what operations would next be mechanized. At a stroke they lost both their security and their pride.

By the time the last old shoemaker died, financial interests in New York had bought out the local factory owners, and the final link of control within the town was broken. Shoemaking in Yankee City had become a strictly impersonal operation for a distant market. New York interests might speed the factories up or close them down; nobody in authority seemed to care.

So the "American Dream" dimmed and faded out in the shoe factories of Yankee City. Warner's men had finished reconstructing the story and come to the end of the trail. They understood now why workers had marched out as one man on that cold March day and joined the union. The same evidence indicated one reason why the American labor movement has grown from two million to 16 million members in recent years. Unions restore some of the pride and self-respect which machines have taken away.

Shoes used to be made by people who wore them themselves,

or took pride in their skill, or both. They are now made by people who rarely wear the shoes they make, have no idea what happens to the output, and have lost their skill and the status which went with it. From a dynamic and absorbing human occupation, mass production has revolutionized shoemaking into an impersonal, monotonous routine. So Newburyport shoemakers in 1933 were under tension not only economically but *emotionally*. Their work had ceased to give meaning to their life.

### ON THE BELT

Shoes today are made by machines which the worker feeds, but mass production has taken a long step beyond that. In the conveyor system, used for automobiles and other durable goods, the machine sets the pace of the job. The worker briskly attaches the windshield wiper as the car goes by. This presents us with the problem of the *robot*, the mechanical slave, the man on the belt. He has long been pointed to as a major liability of the machine age, but only recently have social scientists found out what the menace really amounts to. Some managers allege that there is no menace at all, the robot enjoys the job. What are the facts?

Here is an automobile plant in New England, employing 1,800 workers. About a thousand of them are on various assembly lines—chassis, body assembly, final assembly after the dramatic “body drop” onto the chassis, and various subassemblies. A team of social scientists from the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, headed by Charles R. Walker, have selected a group of men as a quota sample of the total force on the line. These men are given intensive interviews at their homes, with both management and union endorsing the investigation. The results are set forth in *The Man on the Assembly Line*, by Walker and Guest, published in 1952—a small book which is making industrial history.

What did the scientists find? They found that nine men out of ten did not like their work. Most of them preferred some for-

mer job in a smaller concern. They stayed on the belt because of the high pay and job security. But absenteeism and labor turnover were higher for them than for other workers in the plant, and some said they could not take it much longer. One out of ten either liked his work, or was indifferent to it. "If you can daydream," one worker said, "it isn't so bad."

### GRIEVANCES

What did the majority object to? They hated being paced by a machine rather than by their own working rhythm. "The work isn't hard, it's the never-ending pace. . . . The guys yell 'Hurrah!' whenever the line breaks down, you can hear it all over the plant!" Again, they were bored beyond endurance. "The job is so sickening, day in and day out plugging in ignition wires. I get through one motor, turn around, and there's another motor staring me in the face."

They said that they had no opportunity to develop personal skills, which made them feel inferior and stupid. "One of the main things wrong with this job is that there is no figuring it out for yourself; no chance to use your brain."

They said that the job was in a kind of mental twilight zone; they had to pay attention, but not *enough* attention to interest them. A job which left the mind completely free was better, but a job which absorbed the mind was best of all. The craftsman in them was in revolt—like the shoe workers of Newburyport.

Perhaps the biggest grievance, however, was that each man *worked alone*. Assembly lines, as commonly run, break up the natural teams and groups which always tend to form in industry, and which can do so much, as Mayo discovered, to make factory work more tolerable and human.

These automobile workers had few grievances against foremen, equipment, the plant. The light was fine, the washrooms clean. But their unhappiness was reflected in the bitter things they said about "the company," off there in Detroit somewhere. They had to blame somebody. Frustration, as another group of scientists at Yale once concluded, usually leads to aggression.



## CAN THE BELT BE HUMANIZED?

The scientists found the men ready with suggestions to improve their lot. Two appeals stand out: give us a chance to use our minds; give us a chance to work together. Both are close to basic human nature and no culture can deny them indefinitely without risking an explosion.

*Rest pauses*, they said, might help. Instead of waiting for the line to break down, why not stop the damn thing for a few minutes morning and afternoon? "It would be something to look forward to." Any opportunity to *change pace* would help. It was suggested that they be allowed to "work up the line," attaching, say, defrosters, rapidly—and then relax for a few minutes, thus beating the remorseless rhythm. Instead of one nut, screw in half a dozen, giving more *variety*. "I'd like for once to do a whole fender." A whole fender may be too much to ask, but the poor chap might do more of it than he does now.

Once set, the pace of the conveyor cannot be changed much, but workers would feel better if they were *consulted* about it at retooling time. If they had a hand in the process, they said, they would not resent it so much.

Instead of learning the job at only one station on the line, the men suggested, learn the job at five or ten stations, and take turns doing them—this week at Station 6, next week at Station 17. This is the principle of *rotation*, and not so impractical as it may sound. "Utility men," who substitute for sick or absent regulars, learn to handle a lot of stations, and feel much better about the job than the regulars. The scientists found one foreman who had organized his whole crew this way, and the rotation worked so well that management considered extending the practice.

Many observers, both in and out of industry, have said that variety cannot be introduced into the conveyor system without abandoning the central idea. Mr. Walker does not bear them out. The robot can become a good deal less of a robot without sacrificing the moving line. But the big problem of social relationships inside the plant needs much more research. How can team-

work, which is essentially circular, be combined with the belt, which is essentially linear? The conveyor is in conflict with a cardinal social principle.

The Yale scientists have demonstrated that there is a crack in the door. More research may well push it open. Industrial engineers have shown how physical materials can click in a moving line, delivering a Buick every 45 seconds. Social scientists, in consultation with workers, have now to show how human beings can click at stations along the way and retain their humanity. Mass production may never rival a ball game as entertainment for those who work at it, but it can become more tolerable if it allows for the laws of human behavior as well as the laws of physics.

#### CONDITIONS OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE

We have looked at some of the causes of labor unrest, and listened to a few constructive suggestions. Have any large companies really solved their labor problems? Is there a tested formula for stopping strikes?

No, there is not. In totalitarian countries you can shoot strike leaders, but that does not make the rank and file work any better or cure their grievances. Some American corporations, however, have operated for many years without a strike, and social scientists are trying to find out why. An outstanding example is the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.<sup>3</sup> From 1917 to 1955 it went without a serious strike in any of its far-flung operations. Even though it may have a strike some day, its record cannot fail to remain impressive. When most American refinery workers were out in 1945, Jersey's employees remained on the job.

All this began during World War I, when a series of terrible strikes in the Jersey plants produced pitched battles on the streets of Bayonne, with men killed and the state militia mobilized. Management, at its wit's end, called in an expert on human relations, Clarence J. Hicks, a forerunner of Mayo, Roethlis-

<sup>3</sup> On which I reported in their magazine, *The Lamp*, October, 1946.

berger, and Warner. After a careful survey he advised a change in policy which, for 1917, was revolutionary. He said that if managers wanted to stop strikes, they would have to think about workers as human beings rather than as commodities. He said that executives should not be hired unless they had demonstrated their ability to get on with people.

This was a heresy like telling the Republican Party it should come out for free trade. But the traditional policy had broken down so catastrophically that Jersey's managers were ready to try anything. They swallowed the bitter pill of Mr. Hicks. His specific recommendations included: collective bargaining, the highest wage scale the industry could afford, a full set of what we now call "fringe benefits" for workers, the encouragement of teamwork, better communication between men and management—especially the prompt settlement of grievances.

Since that day, Jersey's management has been in the hands of executives who have followed these policies in good faith, and added more along the same line. The policies were first suggested by a social scientist, and the company has employed other scientists to carry them forward. It has on the payroll, for instance, several expert counselors, who meet with older workers and advise them about the tough psychological problems of retirement at age sixty-five.

One activity which particularly interested me, when I was looking into Jersey's labor relations, is the survey conducted from time to time by Elmo Roper Associates to determine what workers think about the company and their jobs. These consultants first secure the full cooperation of the union, and then conduct a mass questionnaire. When the poll was first proposed, the men were naturally suspicious. Mr. Roper at a shop meeting guaranteed that no names would be revealed, and that the union as well as management would see the results. After a period of uneasy silence a union president spoke up:

"I'm for it," he said. "It's a good idea and here's why. I tell the management what the workers want. They want this and they want that, and I bang the table. So Bill here [the superin-

tendent of the plant], he says no, that's not what the workers want, they want that and they want this. And *he* bangs the table. But neither of us knows a damn thing about what the workers *really* want, and I'm for Mr. Roper finding out!" The questions Mr. Roper asks include:

Does management consider you as a human being or a number on the payroll?

Does it make you feel your job is important?

Do you like your foreman? Does he welcome your suggestions? Show favoritism?

What is your favorite company policy? (Sick benefits get a large vote, also the promotion system.)

Would you rather work for a big company or a small company?

### EIGHT PRINCIPLES

In 1947 the National Planning Association, a private research group in Washington, set up an ambitious project—to find the principles of industrial peace. Instead of relaxing and thinking about it, the Association sent field crews of social scientists all over the country to study big companies where strikes were few and labor relations good.<sup>1</sup> Clinton S. Golden, of the Harvard School of Business Administration, assumed command of the project with these classic words: "Instead of looking into the causes of the conflicts we hear so much about, we ought to try to discover how much peace there is and what makes peace."

Twelve companies were analyzed in the field, and 18 more by questionnaire and records, over a period of five years—the most comprehensive study of labor relations ever undertaken. They were all "good" companies, selected deliberately to answer the question: How do the good companies do it?—so that the word could be passed along to the not-so-good companies. All 30 corporations had strong unions, which was also central in the program.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the companies were Crown Zellerbach Corporation, Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Company, Hickey-Freeman Company, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation. Now recorded in a book, edited by Golden and V. Parker. See Bibliography.

The story of the research has been published in detail by the National Planning Association. Here we have space only to list the eight "universals" for industrial peace which were found to be operating in all the companies. We can be confident that these same principles also help labor and management to get on relatively well together in America today.

The principles were taken hot and dynamic from actual operations. If you are thinking of starting a nice little business some day—say the manufacture of magnesium wheelbarrows—you could do no better than to plan your labor policies with these eight guides. You may not need them all, you may modify them, but they will start you in the right direction, they are something to predict with, based on careful scientific research.

1. Management accepts the union as here to stay, and begins looking for ways and means to put the union to work to help the company. Rather than a headache, the union becomes an ally. A responsible union, for one thing, can take over the administration of discipline in the shop.

2. Management gives top priority to human relations. Its personnel department is the best that money and brains can obtain.

3. Management recognizes the union as a different kind of social organization from the company itself. Union leaders are responsible to the rank and file, while company leaders are responsible to the man above. Deals with union leaders are accordingly dangerous; management must keep its eye steadily on the rank and file.

4. The union unreservedly accepts the company as a profit-making institution. All thoughts of "taking it over," or raising wages to the point of financial loss, are abandoned. The class struggle is out the window.

5. The union expects management to manage. The union ceases to be a protest outfit and becomes a watchdog outfit. This marks a profound change in labor philosophy. In the early stages of union organization, violence is frequent, bosses are always wrong, name-calling is loud and eloquent. But in these

30 companies the union has grown up, leaders assume that managers are ordinary decent human beings. Ordinary decent human beings, however, need to be checked up from time to time, and the union exercises this function.

6. Both union and management deliberately subordinate drives for power to a search for the *accommodation* of their differences. They do not expect to agree on everything, but they do expect to avoid violent conflict, and to find a *modus vivendi*, a way to live and let live.

7. Both union and management use the "problem-solving" approach rather than the legalistic approach. Instead of reading the fine print on the contract and battling for their "rights," both sides try to settle problems as they arise, on their merits.

8. Both union and management keep communication lines open, ready to discuss practically anything, any time, anywhere. We noted earlier that the American Management Association is concentrating on this principle, promoting it throughout industry. It has become as live a topic as Taylor's scientific management was a generation ago.

This is all very fine, the skeptic may say, but what is the net result? All the 30 companies were found to be paying relatively high wages, while earning very satisfactory profits. Good human relations, it seems, pay off.

I have given only a hint of what the scientific attitude is accomplishing in labor-management relations in America. My business friend, who described the change from czarism by referring to the three successive presidents under whom he had served, was not talking about an isolated case. The new ideas are making astonishing headway. One finds them not only in private business, but in some government agencies like the TVA, and in many nonprofit organizations—charities, universities, foundations—wherever men and management face one another. The college student who wants to make a career of social science as researcher or consultant will find here a vast and exciting field.

## The Science of Polling

Polls of public opinion are used increasingly by all the social science disciplines as a research tool, and are now a formidable discipline in their own right. Research centers for training interviewers are operating at Princeton, Columbia, the University of Michigan, Chicago, the University of Washington at Seattle, and in large private organizations like Gallup, Roper, and Crossley.

Customers for opinion research include government at all levels, the mass media, businessmen, advertisers, labor unions, foundations, political candidates. Polls have lately spread half-way around the world. The same question can be asked in Canada, the United States, England, France, Denmark, Italy, Belgium, Australia. Whatever its scientific accuracy, obviously the product would not be in such large supply unless there were a powerful demand for it. The case of Jersey Standard, cited in the preceding chapter, is one example of its use. The study of the robot on the assembly line was done by a special polling technique, so-called "depth interviews."

To the man on the street, the word "poll" usually means the prediction of elections, especially for United States President. These get the most publicity, though they constitute a very small part of opinion research. This chapter is primarily concerned with less sporting matters, but election results need an introductory word.

### ELECTION POLLS

The original election polls were "straw votes," where a reporter might ask a few people on the street how they intended

to vote. Then came an elaborate tabulation of a great many straw votes, like that of the *Literary Digest* in the 1936 election. The *Digest* sent out millions of return postcards, asking the respondent's preference as between Roosevelt and Landon. Returns indicated that Republican Landon would be overwhelmingly elected. When the actual voting in November showed him overwhelmingly defeated, the *Literary Digest* as a vendible property presently folded.

Messrs. Gallup and Roper, newcomers in the field, correctly foretold the 1936 election of Franklin Roosevelt. They foretold it again in 1940 and in 1944. In 1948, however, they predicted the election of Thomas E. Dewey over Mr. Truman. In the words of Mr. Roper, "We could not have been more wrong." In the presidential elections of 1952, the pollsters retreated to more cautious estimates. Some of them concentrated on measuring changes in public opinion during the campaign rather than venturing flat predictions.

There is a very important difference between straw voting and the sampling technique of modern opinion research. The former has no protection against bias; the latter is scientifically designed to eliminate it. The *Literary Digest* poll contained two serious errors in selection: (1) postcards were sent to people listed in telephone books—who, especially in 1936, were the more well-to-do; (2) most of the cards returned came from those who had the clerical habit strongly enough to fill out and mail them. Republicans tended to have more telephones, and superior clerical habits, so the *Literary Digest* poll was doubly biased in Mr. Landon's favor.

Gallup and Roper used the sampling method, whereby representatives from all groups in the voting population were interviewed, in their estimated proportions. Thus if Negroes were 13 percent of all American voters, the sample interviewed would include 13 percent of colored citizens—and similarly for other major groups, with various qualifications for regions.

Sampling theory is scientific, as we shall see, why then did the pollsters go so wrong in 1948? There has been a good deal of



soul-searching analysis, and a number of explanations. The outstanding reason seems to be that the pollsters did not allow for voters *changing their minds* between late summer, when the predictions were announced, and November, when citizens actually voted. It is possible that if the electorate had marked their ballots for President on September 1, Mr. Dewey would have been elected. Both the labor vote and the farm vote were seriously affected by events after September 1, while many Republicans, thinking that the election was in the bag, did not bother to vote. Several local polls that persisted through October caught a large drift away from Dewey in the last three weeks before election.

Certainly one of the reasons for the pollsters' success in 1936, 1940, and 1944 was the outstanding personality of Mr. Roosevelt. Voters were strongly for him or strongly against him, and there was not much change in their feelings between September and November of those years. In 1948, however, Mr. Roosevelt had passed from the scene, and opinions had not crystallized so strongly about either Mr. Truman or Mr. Dewey.

Opinion research was in low repute for months after Mr. Truman's election, but presently it emerged, and today is at an all-time high. It furnishes useful information which can be got in no other way. Even if results are occasionally wrong, the demand is massive enough to overlook some errors. The pollsters, moreover, are not likely to repeat their carelessness of 1948.

### SAMPLING THEORY

Sampling theory has been in use, largely for material things, for thousands of years. Instead of counting or tasting or weighing the whole lot, you analyze a sample which represents the whole lot. But unless the sample is truly representative of the whole lot, or "universe," as the scientists call it, the technique is not only valueless but dangerous.

An early illustration was sampling wine by tasting it, a few sips would define the whole vintage. A "universe" of sand, marbles, or other free-flowing material can readily be measured

by sampling. When units are not free flowing, they are said to be "clustered," and the sample must then be composed of similar clusters.

Most of us use sampling to save ourselves work, without realizing that we are on the edge of a scientific technique. If, for instance, I want to find out how many words I have written so far in this book, I select half a dozen typed pages at random, count the words on each page, average them, and multiply by the number of pages typed. The result will be close enough for my purposes. I know from previous tests that it will be within 2 or 3 percent of the exact number of words.

If we have any way to find a representative sample, we can determine the total of the universe at a fraction of the cost of a complete census. To count all the words in a book would take many hours. Not only can we get answers to more questions, but we can get a given answer faster; the technique has both coverage and speed. It applies to many aggregates, organic as well as inorganic—nails, bolts, most mass-produced units, trees, grain, sheep—anything which has some uniform characteristics.

The first use of scientific sampling in the social field seems to have been when Halley, whom we met in the Royal Society, employed the mortality statistics of the town of Breslau for 1693, to draw conclusions about the mortality of mankind. Breslau was the sample, and mankind the universe. In 1800 Sir Frederick Eden, using the sampling technique, estimated the population of England at 9 million, and next year the actual census confirmed the estimate. Among the most active uses today are:

Inspecting mass production articles and parts in factories. Johnson & Johnson, for instance, have scores of sampling stations in one of their factories at New Brunswick.

Estimating crop yields—widely practised by the Department of Agriculture.

Compiling economic data, such as the number of unemployed, wages, prices, housing conditions—and thus saving the taxpayers' money. The number of unemployed published by the government

every month is calculated on a sample basis. If a complete census were taken, results would be months behind and the cost fantastic.

Health surveys, crime surveys, youth surveys, indeed all manner of social surveys. As I write, the United States Public Health Service is estimating the effects of smoking on health by interviewing 25,000 Americans.

Market research: to find answers to such questions as "What don't you like about Plymouth cars?" "What is your favorite toothpaste?" Also to measure the popularity of radio and TV programs

The depression of the 1930's gave sampling theory tremendous impetus. The government needed figures in a hurry concerning the number of people unemployed, on relief, eligible for social security benefits, and so on. Time did not permit a complete census, samples would serve the purpose within a calculable margin of error.

World War II carried the technique further. Samples were taken to determine consumer wants, housing facilities, goods in short supply, dealer inventories, public reaction to war measures, characteristics of selectees, employee attitudes in war plants, radio listening habits, quality control of munitions

"The science of sampling," says Angus Campbell, "has reached the point where it can select unbiased samples of known probable error to represent virtually any universe a surveyor is interested in."<sup>1</sup> In the face of this comprehensive demand, the question of who is going to be elected president or senator or dog catcher is minuscule. We can summarize the development of public opinion research something like this:

First comes *sampling theory*, founded on the mathematics of probability and rigorously scientific.

From it many useful applications have been worked out in *counting material things*—beans, rice, gravel, many kinds of industrial and military inventories.

From it, counts of *human populations* have also been developed, such as the total number of boys subject to the draft, of housewives with electric washing machines, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Social Issues*, May, 1946.

Counts of *opinions* are next in line—what people think of the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, President Eisenhower's performance, the Jack Benny program.

Out on the far edge is the prediction of *political elections*—since the trouble in 1948, the boys are going easy on this one. It would suit a lot of us if they would forget the whole thing. But the popular demand for a winning prediction, as in the case of the Kentucky Derby, is great.

Until scientific sampling came along, no politician, leader, reformer, had any objective way of knowing what the people thought about public issues. Leaders relied mostly on intuition, wishful thinking, or pessimism about the intelligence of the rank and file. Congressmen tended to draw conclusions from their mail—which provides a perfectly terrible sample of the congressman's universe! Only angry people, or very earnest and literate people, or people prodded by pressure groups, write letters to Congress. Congressional mail in 1941, for example, ran 90 percent against the draft law. But careful polls indicated a majority of citizens *in favor* of the bill. The bill won by one vote.

#### WARTIME POLLS

Samuel Stouffer, whom we met at the Harvard Laboratory, directed many of the Army polls during the war. Soldiers were asked what they thought about their food, about their equipment, their uniforms, the entertainment offered, promotion methods in the Army, deficiencies in leadership, methods of discipline, personal plans after the war. The soldiers themselves determined the "point system" of discharge. Subsequently the system never fell below the 70 percent line in soldier approbation. It worked so well that even the Marines took it over. The Army knew two years in advance, and within 3 percent, how many claimants there would be under the G.I. Bill of Rights. The government probably saved millions for the taxpayers by knowing what to plan for in this costly business.

Rensis Likert found out by opinion research that if the

Treasury made it easier for people to refund war bonds, more new bonds would be bought, and *more net would stay bought*. This was contrary to some positive opinion in high quarters, but the Treasury trusted the poll, and made the change, with the results predicted. The Price Control Board kept in close touch with the public by frequent opinion surveys. When a poll showed a bad public reaction to some ruling in, say Cleveland, trouble-shooters were rushed to Cleveland before the grievance grew. Sometimes the ruling was changed, sometimes a better explanation was given of its necessity. . . . What a future in public relations this opens up!

A poll in June, 1946, showed that 78 percent of Americans wanted price controls maintained for a while longer. Presumably they were afraid of inflation without them. Yet Congress killed the agency, on the assumption that competition would reappear after its long hibernation and bring prices down. Congress turned out to be wrong and the people right.

#### OUTSTANDING ACCOMPLISHMENT

This brings us to an outstanding achievement of the polls. They have given strong statistical proof of the wisdom of the people, and thus vigorously supported the theory of political democracy. Time and again the polls have shown the majority of the people ready for a given change ahead of their leaders, and even farther in advance of Congress. William A. Lydgate, of the Gallup organization, has written a book, *What Our People Think*, packed with evidence. His first chapter is entitled, following Carl Sandburg, "The People, Yes." He cites the pluralities for rearmament, higher taxes for defense, the draft, price control, wage control, rationing, an antistrike law—all approved by the people ahead of Congress. In March, 1940, six months after Hitler's armored divisions marched into Poland, the Army asked Congress for money to build 1,200 fighting planes. Congress appropriated funds to build exactly 59. Yet samples of the American people were showing majorities of nine to one in favor of more air power!

The people are not always right judged by subsequent events; but as Mr Lydgate shows, they often sense reality better than those whom they elect to represent them. The rank and file are soon lost when questions become technical, but when broad policies are put before them, the polls vigorously support the famous warning: "Never overestimate the people's knowledge, nor underestimate their intelligence."

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## Steps in Opinion Research

To run a poll today is a major operation, in which an amateur would do about as well as he would trying to produce sulfathiazole in the kitchen sink. If the "universe" is all the adults in the United States, as many as 400 skilled interviewers may be needed, stationed at strategic points throughout the country. Perhaps the best way to understand the operation is to follow the process of polling for a public policy question from beginning to end, and note the steps involved. There are eight of them, and we will consider each in turn.<sup>1</sup> Why not save the cost of personal interviews and send questions by mail? Because, as the sad case of the *Literary Digest* made painfully clear, mail returns often introduce a systematic bias.

### STEP 1: SELECTING THE QUESTION TO BE POLLED

Suppose that you are the director of a polling agency, what do you want to ask people about? Granted that it would be interesting to have an answer, is there any reason to believe that enough plain citizens know anything about the topic to make the answer significant? Do not try "free enterprise," for instance, for only three Americans out of ten have a clear idea what "free enterprise" means. Many think it is something given away, like premiums for soap wrappers. Citizens need *background* before they can answer a policy question—unless you are polling specifically to determine the *lack* of background. In 1955 there was a good deal of agitation about a private power combine, called Dixon-Yates, supplying current to the

<sup>1</sup> Following Maccoby and Holt, in *Journal of Social Issues*, May, 1946

TVA. Most Americans had no idea of the facts, which were complicated. So any poll you might have taken would be not on the issue but on symbols—"Private Power vs. Public Power," or "Republican vs. Democrat." This would tell you how people feel about symbols, but not about Dixon-Yates.

Again, even if people know about the subject, do they care? This brings up the *intensity* of public feeling; questions which carry low intensities may not be worth the cost of polling. Again, how *permanent* is the reaction likely to be? Questions subject to large and sudden changes in popular attitudes are less meaningful than those which have more stability, unless you are specifically studying changes, as in "panel" polling to be described later, where the same group is interviewed at different periods

## STEP 2. SELECTING THE UNIVERSE

Will the universe be the whole adult population of the country, Negro sharecroppers in Mississippi, Ph D.'s in sociology, consumers of Post Toasties, unskilled workers in the Ford Motor Company; or what?

Though opinion can be studied not only in the United States but in other Western nations, polls behind the so-called Iron Curtain have only recently begun, and are conducted so differently as to be useless for comparison. To compare reactions between nations is always interesting and can be important. An international poll asked the question: "Do you think most people can be trusted?" Only 6 percent of Germans said yes, compared with 66 percent of Americans—a penetrating sidelight on feelings of security in the two countries ten years after World War II.

## STEP 3. SELECTING THE SAMPLE

Individuals, as we have seen, must be selected from the universe in such a way as to represent the universe. Here the amateur goes completely out of his depth. As director you choose among various alternative methods. "random sampling," "quota sur-



veys," and so on. You choose the one which seems best to fit the universe—remembering too your client's pocketbook.

*Random sampling* means using some automatic method of choosing which gives each individual in the universe an equal chance of being included in the sample. If one is sampling marbles, random sampling is quite satisfactory. It can be done by picking up a handful anywhere, though it would be a good idea to shake the whole collection first. If, however, one is sampling people, random sampling is more complicated. Suppose we want to know how many members in a given service club go regularly to church. Here is the card file, with tens of thousands of club members' names. Now pick up a book, any book, and open it at random. If the page is 64, take 4, the last digit. Good, we will start with the *fourth* card in the membership file, and take every hundredth card thereafter. If we want to work to a larger sample and thus a smaller margin of error, take every twentieth card. Prior experiments have proved that when some *person*, however wise, tries to pick the random sample, bias gets in.

A *quota sample* tries to arrange the units in the sample in the same proportions as in the universe. If the universe is total adult population, then divide the sample into corresponding proportions of rich, poor, white, Negro, farmer, city man, old, young, skilled worker, unskilled worker, etc. Elmo Roper claims that by asking 5,000 Americans selected on a quota basis whether they expect, say, to take a vacation in the next six months, he can get, within a few percentage points, the same answer that 100 million adult Americans in a complete census would give. If he is correct, and there is strong reason to suppose that he is, the saving in cost is in the order of 20,000 to 1. Incidentally, here is the reason why *you* may not have been polled (I was polled for the first time a few days before writing this paragraph. It was about United States oil companies abroad.)

The quota theory is sound, trouble comes in making clusters which truly agree with the clusters in the universe. The studies of Dr. Kinsey in sex behavior have been criticized for

having too many respondents with college education. This may be true, but the results are still useful. Though the Kinsey samples may not be perfect, they have told us more than was ever known before about the subject, and may quite possibly have laid the foundation for more intelligent sex education in the future.

#### STEP 4: PHRASING THE QUESTION

How best to word the question is as delicate as approaching the boss for a raise. Here the survey director must use taste, sympathy, intuition, and semantics. There is no such body of knowledge to help him as in the theory of sampling. He is confronted, among other things, with a problem in the meaning of words. What he must strive for above all else—with an exception to be noted later—is to get a completely dead-pan question, to remove all emotion-stirring words<sup>2</sup> so the respondent can answer spontaneously from his own inner feeling.

When Franklin Roosevelt was President it was found that attaching his name to a policy which was being polled increased its popularity—although not necessarily in the Union League Club. Out where votes are counted this produced a bias in favor of the proposal. "Do you think the United States should send food to starving people in Asia?" gets more votes than the same question with "starving" deleted.

Mr. Roper once ran an interesting semantic test. He matched two groups of people so they were practically identical samples, as proved by asking them various questions and getting close percentage results. He then asked each group a series of questions, identical except that for one group a new and ugly word was introduced, the word "propaganda." The general topic was the usefulness of foreign broadcasts by the State Department.

Interviewers asked Group A "Some people say it is better to explain our point of view as well as give the news: do you agree?" The answer came back "yes," 42.8 percent. Group B got the following wording, *and observe it is substantially the*

<sup>2</sup>Sometimes called "purr" words, or "slur" words.

*same question:* "Some people say it is better to include some propaganda as well as give the news." The "yes" reaction was cut almost in half, to 24.7 percent.

In Step 4, the director has to decide whether to use "closed" questions, "open" questions, or a combination of both. Closed questions are those to which the respondent answers "yes," "no," "don't know," or selects one reply from a number of alternatives. For instance "If the election were held today would you vote Republican . . . Democratic . . . Don't know. . ." The "don't knows," or D. K.'s, used to go down the drain in some of the polls, but now their importance is emphasized. Public ignorance of certain questions can be measured by the percentage of "don't knows." Percentages based only on those who indicate a preference, adding up to 100 percent with the D. K. vote excluded, can give a strongly biased conclusion.

An open question, on the other hand, is not so clean-cut as the closed variety. It gets in shades of opinion and also may show intensity. The interviewer starts with a big general question and works down to cases, encouraging the respondent to express his views in his own words and think all around the topic. For instance:

"What do you believe will happen to prices in the next year or so? . . . Why do you think so? . . . What are you doing about it in your own buying? . . ."

Open questions are often a better measure of public opinion, but the interviewer must be better trained and work harder, with a much tougher job of coding and note-taking. Instead of ticking off a "no," "yes," "don't know," he must take down nearly all the respondent says—and most of us like to talk.

Another rule in phrasing questions is to ask only one thing at a time. "Do you think it wise these days to put money into real estate and securities?" is bad wording. George Adams may favor real estate and be afraid of securities, while his banker holds the opposite view. Split it into two questions.

The one time when it seems permissible to load a question is

in polling for the extent of prejudice. The usual impersonal questions about race and religious prejudices will not be answered honestly. Many Americans are ashamed of their feelings about Jews or Catholics or Negroes. They will give stereotyped replies based on the Declaration of Independence. But when the interviewer says: "Well, we're through with that. Now tell me what you *really* think about those so-and-so's?" prejudice emerges from its dark den. Marie Jahoda has reported that this technique may cause a 25 percent shift.

Miss Jahoda also says that when parents are polled about corporal punishment, 80 percent give the textbook response: they are against it. But when followed up by a probe of actual behavior 70 percent of the same people are found not to be sparing the rod.

#### STEP 5. THE TEST RUN

After we have the question worded to our satisfaction, the next step is to put it into the wind tunnel and measure reactions. This gives us the "feel" of what to expect in the larger project. In a study which I followed closely, 22 questions were tried out on a preliminary group of 100 people. The ultimate sample was to be 5,000, for a universe including all United States adults. In this sample of a sample, the interviewer took down replies in full and asked respondents to explain what they meant by all their answers. Thus cloudy wordings were identified and corrected before the final survey.

#### STEP 6. THE INTERVIEW

Poorly trained interviewers can ruin everything we have arranged so far—the universe, the sample, the wording, the test run. It is easier to train an interviewer for closed questions than for open, but good judgment is always required. He needs it, to get people talking. (As a matter of current practice, most interviewers are not he's but she's—intelligent matrons working part time.)

An interviewer on an unemployment survey must never say:

"You're not working now, are you?" but always. "Are you looking for a job now, or are you waiting for a while?" Thus the respondent is permitted to keep his pride. Also an interviewer must never put answers in the respondent's mouth "Do you say that because of the high cost of living?" will cause many a respondent to follow the leader with, "Sure, that's why." Then bias is in.

Four main causes can make trouble in the communication line between interviewer and respondent: (1) deliberate misstatements, (2) pretense, the respondent assumes a special role for the interviewer's benefit, (3) psychological blockages in the respondent, (4) honest mistakes

Some respondents try to influence poll results. This is especially true of community leaders who want to make a good showing for the town's schools, or crime record, or whatever the question is. Unless the ground is well prepared, a troop of interviewers invading a small community will start a blizzard of rumors. To cite a case After all the families in "Springdale" had been briefly contacted by a team, two contradictory rumors spread through the town the interviewers were FBI agents, no, they were communist spies!

The Fund for the Republic retained two big polling agencies to find out what was worrying Americans in the middle 1950's.<sup>3</sup> It appeared that we were not nearly so much upset about Communists in the State Department, or even in Russia, as we were about our jobs, our health, and our families. Each agency, of course, had its own squad of interviewers, but they asked the same questions of different respondents. Both groups of respondents represented samples of all adult Americans. Here was a rigorous test of the technique of interviewing, but it was brilliantly met. The results, when tabulated, were almost identical.

#### STEP 7. TABULATING RESULTS

Interviewers have made the rounds, and sent their notes to the central office. The modern method is to make punch cards, one

<sup>3</sup> Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*.

per respondent, and let a computing machine tabulate them. In practically no time at all it will sort and count the cards in as many ways as the director desires.

Attaching equal numerical weights to all responses and adding them, performing least squares and other fancy mathematical operations upon them, could result in a fearful hash. The data should be kept relatively simple. For depth interviews—where the respondent gives the interviewer the whole background of his answers—statistics must be used with great caution. These data are still beyond the mechanical level, a handicraft job for highly skilled interviewers. Depth interviews are also the only way to find out *why* people hold the opinions they do.

#### STEP 8. REPORTING THE FINAL RESULT

The director of the survey now takes the figures, discusses them with his staff, and sits down to write his report for client or press. An advertising client may be handed a special market survey of how his new TV set is liked, while George Gallup's reports have been widely syndicated in the newspapers.

The report must explain clearly not only what the figures show, but also what they do *not* show. The common habit of generalizing from insufficient data can raise havoc with any poll not carefully guarded. The director must repeatedly caution his readers against generalizing the findings to a different universe from the one being measured. For instance, if the universe is *Iowa farmers*, guard against extending the results to *United States farmers*.

#### A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

All the eight steps are now under scientific microscopes. The *sample* is increasingly subjected to mathematical analysis and verification. The *questions asked* are being developed from a static to a dynamic phase, registering changes in opinion through time. Louis HARRIS, with the Roper organization at the time, described the progress of polling to me.

We began years ago, he said, with a simple yes-or-no. *Do you approve of UNESCO?* Answer yes or no.

Then we discovered the critical importance of "don't knows." A lot of Americans had never heard of UNESCO

We went on to "cafeteria questions," where the respondent is asked to select one:

*Do you highly approve of UNESCO? Mildly approve? Mildly disapprove? Highly disapprove? No opinion?*

We experimented with such multiple questions, using the *index* method and the *scaling* method. Sometimes we arrange a series of questions all bearing on a single topic. Take, for instance, race prejudice. We put, "*Do you approve of complete segregation?*" at one end of the scale, and "*Do you approve of mixed marriages?*" at the other end. In between are a number of questions registering reaction to such things as desegregation in schools, F.E.P.C., Negro players in big league baseball, joint housing facilities, and so on—all in scale between the two poles. The result gives us a deeper insight into the respondent's feelings.

The "panel" method is used more and more to follow shifts in feelings. We used to ask a sample what they thought about a given topic, say on January 1, and then ask another sample on June 1. Now we ask the *same people*—they are the panel. Ask 1,000 people on January 1 if they approve of admitting Red China to the UN. Ask them again on April 1, and again on August 1. This gives us a picture of change, and it develops interactions. The technique can be used to bring out the various pressures and influences which bear on the respondent and influence his opinion—such as his trade union, his industry, his church, his region.

We are a long way from the old "yes-no," said Mr. Harris, though we still use it for some questions, but we still have a long way to go. Harris believes that ultimately a great deal will be discovered about human behavior by the panel method.

Here are some areas where opinion research was especially active in the mid-fifties

*Consumer opinion.* Paid for by advertisers, businessmen, government. It includes product research, design research, impact of advertising, behavior of consumers in the market, cost of living, TV and radio ratings.

*Worker opinion.* Paid for by management and labor unions. How employees feel about the boss, the company, the union, the foreman, their jobs.

*Public opinion.* Paid for by government, foundations, the mass media, business. Includes popular opinion on United States foreign policy, international problems, internal security, political pressures, studies dealing with the fear of communism, behavior in disasters, education—a long list.

A significant report on political pressures was made by a group of social scientists who conducted panel studies in Elmira, New York, covering the 1948 elections.<sup>4</sup> Results have formed the basis for a startling hypothesis about the workings of political democracy, upsetting many cherished ideas of the past. We will save the story for Chapter 24, which deals with political science more specifically. Enough that it shows how opinion research, as conducted by qualified experts, can fertilize new political, economic, and social theory.

We will let Samuel Stouffer sum up the subject. Polls, he says, can replace myths with facts when people are discussing current political questions in press, radio, TV, or barber shop. "We, as social scientists, have an obligation to make the tools better and better, and we as citizens have the obligation in and out of government to see that these powerful instruments are wisely employed . . . There is no turning back."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, *Voting*

<sup>5</sup> *Scientific Monthly*, December, 1946.



## Is Economics a Science?

"The Republican congressional leaders are preparing to go ahead with their plan to cut taxes, but economists disagree as to whether a reduction would be inflationary or deflationary. Those fellows have the whole thing down to an inexact science."

As one who has written several books on economics, I confess that my mirth at this crack in the *New Yorker* is somewhat forced. Our "science" is fortified with many learned theories and many impressive curves and graphs, but repeatedly it proves unreliable for prediction, the acid test of science as we have seen. George Soule once wrote a book called *The Useful Art of Economics*, but one may ask—and many do—how useful is a body of doctrine which says that things will go up which then go down, or will go down which presently go up?

Despite the frequent failure of prediction, economics is a popular subject, with flourishing departments and business schools in the universities. It wins great attention in financial sections of the newspapers, and is pursued in magazines, monographs, and books without number. If, for the purposes of discussion, we divide the field into three parts, General Theory, Special Theory, and Practical Economics, a pleasanter and more revealing landscape appears.

The two big General Theories in the world today—Ricardian and Marxian—are dogmatic, contradictory, and not reliable for prediction. What the theory says will happen usually does not happen.

The Special Theories cover a more modest area—like Berle and Means's discussion of the evolution of the modern corpora-

tion, Colin Clark on the tertiary trades, Keynes's analysis of business depressions. These are capable of verification, and close to social science.

Practical Economics, or the use of economic tools, is often excellent, and a great help to government administrators and businessmen in planning and forecasting their operations. The United States economy in World War II, as we shall see, would probably have jammed without the work of economic administrators and statisticians.

All three departments, however, lose by their failure to draw on the behavior sciences—especially the General Theory department. Economists have worked late, employing some high-powered mathematics, trying to find dependable laws for the behavior of money and prices, without sufficiently realizing that prices often fluctuate with the way people *feel* about the situation—a phenomenon in behavior.

A scientist armed with the operational definition would look in vain for any world of economics functioning according to a system of laws of its own. He can find only the behavior of people—as workers, consumers, managers, borrowers, lenders—concerned with getting a living, achieving security, protecting the family, fortifying their egos. He can record and classify this behavior in a number of ways, such as:

*Producer behavior*—on the farms, in the crafts, factories, mines, laboratories.

*Financial behavior*—first in the form of barter, then in the invention and use of money, followed by the scramble for the division of the money income in a given society.

*Consumer behavior*—the impulse to spend or not to spend, the impact of advertising, the stimulation and satisfaction of wants, and so on.

It all goes back to people's needs, drives, desires, fears, hopes for security—psychological incentives. Recall again the girls in the relay room at Hawthorne. This is the reason why the Big Theories ring so hollow. They either leave out human be-

havior altogether or assume a psychology which does not exist in flesh and blood. They speak of "other things being equal," when things are not equal, and of "self-evident truths," which cannot be proved.

### FIFTEEN FORECASTS

To illustrate the inadequacy of much economic theorizing, suppose we glance at some confident predictions of recent years.

1. Following the prompting of leading bankers and financial experts, Britain returned to the gold standard after World War I. They were confident it would restore her economic position in the world. It did nothing of the kind. After six years of steadily accumulating financial difficulties Britain abandoned gold in 1931.

2. When the U.S.S.R. proposed her first Five Year Plan in 1927, it was ridiculed by economists in London, Paris, and New York. The U.S.S.R. was bankrupt, they said, and where would she raise 60 billion rubles to invest in capital assets? Where would the money come from? At the end of five years the factories, power dams, railroads, transmission towers, schools, housing developments, steel plants were there, ugly, solid and substantial, as planned. Where *did* the money come from?

3. In 1928 there were almost no economists in the United States who saw the looming depression. On the contrary, many were coming to believe that the business cycle had been smoothed out and permanent prosperity reached.

4. After the stock market collapse in 1929, few financial experts would admit that it was more than a little swerve—and a healthy one at that. Prosperity, we were told, was "just around the corner."

5. In 1935 a noted financier and economist announced that unless the federal budget were promptly balanced, a dire inflation would ruin the nation. I remember it well, because I debated the question with him before the Economics Club of New York. He won the debate hands down, but the budget was not balanced and the inflation he predicted for the 1930's never came.

6. When Hitler proposed to rearm Germany, the cry went up from the highest authorities: "Germany is bankrupt, she cannot even pay reparations; Hitler has no gold or foreign exchange; where will the money come from?" So the rest of us breathed easier to think of ragged, bankrupt Hitler.

7. A leading economist cited by Beardsley Ruml said in 1937 that unless federal expenditures were brought into line with revenues, the interest rate would rise to 6 or 8 percent. Deficits continued as before, and the interest rate continued in the deep freeze.

8. In 1940 economists affirmed that with a federal debt of the staggering proportions of \$45 billion it would be difficult if not impossible to finance a program for defense and rearmament. It proved, on the contrary, surprisingly easy. In 1940, indeed, there was not an economist in the country—including your author—who would have dared to suggest that the United States could shoulder a debt of \$280 billion by 1945.

9. As we entered the war economists sternly bade the nation choose between guns and butter, we could not have both. We got both—the mightiest assortment of guns in human history, and a total volume of consumer goods slightly greater than before the war, though differently divided among the population.

10. In the fall of 1941 a flood of articles and news stories assured us that Japan presented no real danger. The long years of war in China had exhausted her resources, she had no gold and was nothing but a hollow shell economically. The attack on Pearl Harbor came as these pronouncements were at their height. The hollow shell gave us a painful amount of trouble for more than three years.

11. In 1943, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that there would be 7 to 12 million unemployed six months after the war's end. The actual number in March, 1946, proved to be 2,710,000. Unemployment during reconversion never went above three million.

12. Early in the war economists were having nightmares over

what they ominously called the "inflationary gap." The gap never opened—not, at least, in any ominous way. Citizens did not spend their money the way economic theory said they should.

13. Many economists opposed any plan for general price control at the beginning of the war. It was believed to be unworkable and would only make the price situation worse. As J. K. Galbraith said: "Standard pedagogy had emphasized this conclusion quite literally for generations"<sup>1</sup> The Office of Price Administration was set up nevertheless, and worked astonishingly well, holding most prices within narrow limits throughout the war.

14. On July 3, 1946, as Congress was enthusiastically dismantling price controls, the National Association of Manufacturers ran full-page advertisements saying:

If price controls are permanently discontinued, the production of goods will rapidly mount and, through free competition, prices will quickly adjust themselves to levels that consumers are willing to pay. . . . Then as production gets rolling again, supply will catch up with demand . . . prices will be fair and reasonable to all

For at least 20 months thereafter, prices for most goods continued to increase. What happened to the leveling power of free competition the NAM economists have never explained.

15. In the spring of 1947 most expert opinion held that the peak of price inflation had been reached, as the merchants of Newburyport made their well-publicized 10 percent price cut across the board. A business survey announced that signs of a business recession were abundant, and that it would strike in the late summer. August came and golden September, and all lines continued their mighty zoom upward.

This melancholy story could be indefinitely continued. Business economists, government economists, labor economists, great bankers and fiscal experts, college professors, financial editors, your author—all have missed the boat by alarming margins.

<sup>1</sup> *American Economic Review*, June, 1947

What is the trouble? No other branch of the social sciences which we have been examining has such a record. Reviewing it, one can scarcely be surprised that the man on the street thinks himself an economist as competent as the professors.

There must be some good reason why such grave miscalculations keep coming from serious and intelligent scholars. Various explanations have been offered by members of the fraternity as well as by outsiders. The *Economist* of London has put its finger on one source of the trouble. As perhaps the leading economic journal of the world the *Economist* speaks with authority:<sup>2</sup>

Economics is a curious science, if indeed it is a science at all. The investigator who digs down through the textbook generalizations in the physical sciences finds at their root a series of facts, checked by carefully controlled experiments, and as accurately known as human ingenuity can compass. The investigator who does the same for economics, penetrating the smoke screen of curves and mathematical symbols, will find not facts, but a series of elementary psychological assumptions checked, if at all, by crude common sense. And, like most assumptions of this kind, he will find that most of them are wrong. . . . It is this lack of a solid factual basis which has brought it about that, while the Army is alleged to be always winning the last war, economists are almost invariably engaged in denouncing the last slump. The characteristic of a genuine science is that its practitioners . . . can tell the practical man what to expect around the next corner. Economists may sometimes do the same; but as often as not they have to wait to formulate their theory until the practical man has himself turned the corner. . . .

There have of course been correct predictions. Roger Babson achieved a prodigious reputation by forecasting the great slump of 1929 in his business letter a few weeks before it struck. But observe, if economics were social science, the majority of the profession would have checked his calculations and agreed with him, instead of being practically to a man on the other side of the fence.

<sup>2</sup> July 27, 1946.

As things are now, one faction is delighted at the discomfiture of another school when a forecast fails to materialize. The opponents of John Maynard Keynes were overjoyed when the prediction of the Bureau of Labor Statistics about unemployment after the war proved wide of the mark. But the man on the street took it as one more sign that *all* economists are unreliable. Real scientists take pride in their discipline and are concerned when careful forecasts go wrong. Can one imagine, for instance, a group of astronomers rubbing their hands and saying: "Splendid! Halley's Comet never came around the way he said it would"?

### BIG THEORY: RICARDO

For almost a century, economic theory has been dominated by two schools which largely contradict each other. The laissez faire or classical school holds that the government should keep out of practically everything, while the Marxist school holds that it ought to get into practically everything. The former has been preferred by most American economists, the latter by many European. It is now the official philosophy—if not indeed the official religion—of the U.S.S.R. and her satellites.

Classical theory was first formulated in a comprehensive way by Adam Smith with his epoch-making book, *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776. His ideas were refined by David Ricardo early in the nineteenth century, and were summed up in the term "laissez faire"—let things alone. Ricardo became the chief theoretician of the classical school—the economics which my generation was taught in college.

The theory says that when each individual seeks his own interest and is given opportunity to do so, a higher harmony is established, which cancels out the apparent selfishness, coincides with "natural law," and makes for the maximum of wealth and happiness. The intervention of the state is fatal to this harmony, and must be kept to the absolute minimum necessary for law and order. Let the free play of the market determine prices,

wages, rents, interest rates, and let profit be the judge of those entrepreneurs who are to survive.

The culture in which Adam Smith, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and the other giants of the classical school did their writing was barely past the handicraft stage, with mass production all but unknown.<sup>8</sup> The machine age was in its infancy. an economy of little markets, little mills, and little ironmasters. Classical theory may have fitted that scene—though this is in some dispute—but it fails to fit the world of electronics, jet planes, and billion-dollar corporations.

Ricardo was trained in the London brokerage business, with little first-hand experience in industry. His powerful mind elaborated the imposing logical structure which came to be called *laissez faire*. The philosophy was never verified but for a century and more students in all the universities of the Western world have been drilled in its syllogisms, and even expected to go out and run their businesses in accordance with it.

Elton Mayo, from his post in the Harvard Business School, declared it impossible to square Ricardo with practical problems in business administration, or in labor-management relations. He cited Chester I. Barnard, at the time president of the New Jersey Telephone Company, who complained that he could find no treatise in all economic literature which covered business organization as he had to deal with it day by day. Mr. Barnard finally had to write his own book about it, which he called *The Functions of the Executive*. Worse still, said Mr. Barnard, economists fail to recognize the extreme importance of *organization* as the principal structural aspect of society itself. That is, the businessman is doing something out there in the real world which economists are supposed to interpret, but which they are mostly unaware of.

Society as viewed by the *laissez faire* school, Mayo continued, consists of a rabble of unorganized individuals striving to serve

<sup>8</sup> Muskets for the War of 1812 in the United States were manufactured on an elementary mass production principle—uniform parts were made and then assembled



the self-interest of each, and yet, by a curious alchemy called "natural law," achieving harmony in the whole. Anthropologists have not discovered anything corresponding to this state of affairs. Ricardian economics "is a study of human behavior in non-normal situations, or, alternately, a study of non-normal behavior in ordinary situations." The number of people activated entirely by self-interest is small. Observe again the 14 men in the bank wiring room at Hawthorne. In Mayo's extensive clinical work over a 30-year period he found that human beings relapse into exclusive self-interest only when society has failed them. Hermits and recluses are examples. Meanwhile Linton fails to mention "natural law" among his universals, and reports no Economic Man, except as an abnormal type.

The laissez faire postulates, in brief, run counter to the culture concept as we outlined it earlier, where man is found to be not an atomistic unit in a human rabble, but an integrated member of a band, group, society, bound together by immemorial patterns. Smith and Ricardo can be excused, for they wrote long before Morgan's initial study of the Seneca Indians. It is harder to explain why their followers have consistently disregarded cultural anthropology, sociology, and social psychology right down to the present day.

#### ECONOMISTS SUPPORT MAYO

Mayo was an industrial psychologist, but many professional economists now agree with him. As far back as 1914, the late Wesley Clair Mitchell, an outstanding American economist, anticipated Mayo by emphasizing the lack of attention paid to the other social sciences. Economists, he said, have "tacitly imputed to the men whose behavior they were analyzing, certain traits consistent with common sense and convenient for theorizing, especially the pleasure-pain principle. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, psychology has abandoned hedonism or pleasure-pain as a governing principle of human behavior. The economics of both Ricardo and Jevons rests squarely upon it. Yet when hedonism

<sup>4</sup> *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1914.

was dethroned by the psychologists, were the theories of Ricardo modified by the economists? They were not, said Mitchell; it was ruled that psychology is no concern of the economist. "Thus economics is said to rest upon the simple facts of choice, and the psychological explanation is said to be a matter of indifference to our science."

This neat elision leaves classical economic theory so purified and rarefied that human nature has no place in it. Mitchell called for a restoration of human behavior as the basis for economic assumptions. Only then, he said, will economics "cease to be a system of pecuniary logic, a mechanical study of static equilibria under non-existent conditions, and become a science of human behavior." This was a daring position for an economist to take in 1914, but everything which has happened in the intervening years has served to strengthen it.

Thorstein Veblen anticipated Mitchell in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, published at the turn of the century. It was an ironical amalgam of anthropology and economics. He undertook to show how members of the upper-upper class in America helped to maintain status by what he called "conspicuous consumption"—big town and country houses, steam yachts, retinues of servants, diamond tiaras, fox-hunting, and collections of Old Masters. The study dates a bit today, but it was acute observation before World War I, and before the graduated income tax.

### BIG THEORY: MARX

Karl Marx, who published *Das Kapital* in the 1860's, based much of his theory on Ricardo, but with a special twist. Also he relied heavily on the philosophy of Hegel with its "thesis, antithesis and synthesis," which, despite its fine verbal roll is a hard thing to measure

We have already noted in Chapter 4 how Marx developed his theory in a state of emotional sympathy for the poor, and emerged with the principle of the class struggle. He made it an absolute, but anthropologists like Linton find it operating only

under special temporary conditions. Perhaps such a condition prevailed when Marx was haunting the British Museum, but it is anything but universal in the West today. Let the reader run back through the last two chapters dealing with relations between labor and management, and note how many exceptions to the class struggle can be found. There was a vicious struggle between men and management in Jersey Standard for a time, but after 1917 it changed first to accommodation, and then to active cooperation. A truly scientific postulate cannot seesaw like this, it must hold for all conditions, and for long periods, if not indefinitely.

Marx predicted, and Lenin repeated the prediction, that as capitalism developed, the rich would grow richer, and the poor would grow poorer. In America, both groups have become richer, but the graduated income tax shaves more than 80 percent from the income of the very rich. The graduated income tax indeed, both here and in Britain, is a vast machine for the redistribution of income, unthinkable in the Marxian philosophy. The divorce of ownership from management in our great corporations, to be described in the next chapter, is also unthinkable. Capitalism has taken a course utterly different from what either Marx or Ricardo expected, bursting the bonds of both socialistic theory and *laissez faire*. Ricardo, I suspect, would recast his ideas in line with the facts if he were writing today, Karl Marx was a more obstinate man.

#### CRITICAL BARRAGE

With the rise of the behavior sciences, both economic schools have been under increasing criticism. Both tend to be static theories, while economic behavior, spurred on by technological change, is dynamic. Both have become "self-sealing doctrines," to use Robert Oppenheimer's phrase, with disciples of each vociferously maintaining that their school is absolutely right, and the other school absolutely wrong.

At a time in the early 1950's when the Moscow radio, in ringing Marxian prose, was calling on the downtrodden peasants of

America to arise and shake off their chains, I was making a survey of the Palouse wheat area in the state of Washington. The State Agricultural College at Pullman reported that the *average* yearly income of farmers in the area was \$28,000 a year. After the combines had harvested the wheat crop, the downtrodden peasant and his family got into the new Cadillac and took off for Florida or Southern California.

### IS ECONOMICS A SCIENCE?

We are back at the initial question raised in this chapter, and so far as the two big theories are concerned the answer seems to be "no." When one examines the operations going on inside the National City Bank, for instance, or in the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, or the Social Security Board, or the Supermarket Institute, or the Hartford Empire Company, or the United Mine Workers Union, or the New York Stock Exchange, or the United States Treasury—the dynamic happenings therein do not correspond to the economic theories about them, either Ricardian or Marxian. The universe of the atom has been described, but not the economic universe—not in such terms that you can make an economic bomb with it. Economic bombs go off, right enough, but nobody knows exactly why.

For 30 years I have been reading economic literature, and as a professional accountant I have had an intimate view of many business enterprises. I have been through all the standard theories—laissez faire, socialism, single tax, social credit, Keynes, the cooperative commonwealth. None of them fits the objective realities which I have seen. Parts fit here and there, but as general systems they do not fit.

I have come to the conclusion that the quest for an economic "system" is a forlorn one, as forlorn as the quest for a complete philosophical system. I have come to believe that prices, wages, costs of production, profits, are expressions of the economic behavior which underlies them—what human beings *do* about them. Such economic behavior, in turn, is only a part of cultural behavior. Economic acts therefore will often be irrational, often

elaborated far beyond the necessities pursued by Economic Man, and quite incalculable on any "equilibrium" framework, no matter how powerful the mathematics.

Probably no human being ever lived who possessed the characteristics ascribed in the textbooks to Economic Man. No society ever existed which followed the "economic determinism" formulated as a cardinal principle by Marx and Engels. The perfect "equilibrium" is an economic dream world, beyond space and time. The great words go round and round, but I cannot make them connect except in the most spasmodic and discontinuous way with any reality I know.

Little wonder then that the forecasts often fail to materialize. He who tries to formulate "pure" economic theory is like Alice trying to play croquet with no points fixed. The mallet is a live flamingo, the ball is a perambulating hedgehog, and the wickets are soldiers who like to get up and walk around.

If we economists can break away from the notion that there is one perfect, natural, right economic system to which mankind must adhere no matter what the concrete situation may be, our progress in solving specific economic problems should be more rapid. If we can come to realize that economics is only one aspect of the science of man, closely allied with both the culture concept and social psychology, we will abandon quixotic quests for perfect markets, perfect equilibria, perfect states, and concentrate on techniques to halt *this* depression, curb *that* inflation, eliminate malnutrition here, adjust factory conditions to workers there, prepare for automation, raise living standards as the curve of technology rises.

A good share of this book has been dealing with situations which can in one sense be called economic—the experiments at Hawthorne, the strike at Yankee City, the credos of Middletown, the testimony of the polls, the exponential growth of invention. We cannot tear this living fabric apart. Human society is all of a piece and a genuine science must treat it so.

## Some Economic Tools

The mass production industries, like aircraft, chemicals, motorcars, are based on the work of scientists, but few of our economic institutions are based on the work of professional economists. Most banks, brokerage houses, public treasuries, supermarkets, chain stores, labor unions, trade associations, the gold standard, Farm Bureaus—either just grew like Topsy or were blocked out by lawyers.

The founding fathers of economics—Adam Smith, Ricardo, Karl Marx—came along, looked over the scene, and retired to their studies to evolve those massive theoretical structures we have been reviewing; and most students coming later were satisfied to choose which structure they preferred. It remained for Wesley Mitchell to call for exhaustive observation of what is actually going on as a necessary condition for the formulation of theory.

Most American economists, until the great depression at least, had, so to speak, been making poems about business. These often fortified the businessman's morale but did not tell him what to do—as Chester Barnard complained. For advice on that the businessman went to a first-class corporation lawyer, or accountant, or public relations man. (Now he is also going to industrial psychologists )

The depression and then the war put economists to work on practical problems. From this experience came some remarkable new techniques, and the shape of more than one new institution—for example, the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Economists, furthermore, did not work alone but often in teams with lawyers, engineers, statisticians, sociologists.

Here and there, of course, ever since Malthus' famous monograph on population, economists and political scientists have produced sound theoretical analyses of specific institutions. Some of them properly belong in the storehouse of dependable knowledge, having far more than historical interest. I should like to outline briefly three studies published in the 1930's that seem to belong in that class. They are Colin Clark's analysis of shifts in occupation, the work of Berle and Means on the modern corporation, and J. M. Keynes's study of the causes of business depressions.

#### CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Colin Clark, British economist, tiring of grandiose economic "systems," produced a solid book of facts and figures entitled *Conditions of Economic Progress*, in which he draws some useful conclusions. With a certain irony he quotes Bacon on the title page: "It cannot be that axioms established by argumentation can suffice for the discovery of new works, for the subtilty of Nature exceedeth many times over the subtilty of argument."

To handle his data he invents at least one new concept and one new measuring device. The concept is a classification of occupations and industries on three levels, while the measuring rod is what he calls an International Unit, defined as the average amount of goods and services which could be purchased for one dollar in the United States over the decade 1925-34.

Armed with these tools, Professor Clark establishes two principal points. First, that the world as a whole is a long way from the age of plenty. Only the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Great Britain, and Switzerland had, when he wrote, a standard of living of 1,000 International Units per head per year or better. These countries account for only about 10 percent of the world's population.

Five hundred International Units, or less, was the lot of 81 percent of mankind. More than half the world, including India

and China, subsists on less than 200 International Units. The economy of abundance holds good only in those areas where science and quantity production are energetically applied to both industry and agriculture.

The second point I think is even more important. Colin Clark says:

Studying economic progress in relation to the economic structure of different centers, we find a very firmly established generalization that a high average level of real income per head is always associated with a high proportion of the working population engaged in *tertiary* industries. *Primary* industries are defined as agriculture, forestry and fishing; *secondary* industries as manufacturing, mining, and building, the *tertiary* industries include commerce, transport, services, and all other economic activities.

In the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, nearly half the working population was engaged in tertiary activities so defined. They include the professions, as well as what are called the "service trades." In other countries of Western Europe, and in the Argentine, from 33 to 44 percent was so engaged just before World War II.

When a country begins to industrialize, Clark's figures for man power show a relative decline in primary industry (agriculture), and an increase in secondary (manufacturing). After a while the secondary industries reach a maximum and in turn begin to level off. This seems to have happened in Great Britain and France after the turn of the century, in the United States around 1920, in Germany in 1925. Thereafter—except in the special circumstances of war production—only the tertiary industries, the service trades, can be expected relatively to expand. Common sense agrees with scientific analysis in this conclusion. As the machine contributes more energy, human beings are bound to contribute less. The number of jobs will increase in intellectual and clerical fields—the professions, education, recreation, government work, and the services generally.

This is a conclusion of great importance to the economic fu-



ture of the world, and one as yet inadequately appreciated. It amounts to a formula for a mass production society, close to a scientific law. It is close enough for me constantly to advise young people that tertiary occupations offer the widest opportunities for future careers. It is close enough to encourage the government of Puerto Rico to launch an industrialization program, in the hope of getting surplus workers out of the sugar cane fields, where unemployment has been rife, into factories, and ultimately into the service trades.

### MODERN CORPORATIONS

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means in *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* contributed another conclusion of long-term importance. They took a hard look at big American corporations in the era of President Coolidge. What they owned, what they did, how they priced their products, who owned them, who controlled them. The 200 largest non-banking companies in the country were selected, companies which together accounted for nearly half of all business activity. Means as an economist assembled the corporate statistics; Berle as a lawyer assembled the legal status or analyzed the lack of it.

One effect of the study was to shatter various economic "laws" of both Marx and Ricardo. The great corporations—United States Steel, International Harvester, and the rest—had little in common with *laissez faire* theory. The legal owners, or "capitalists," were found to be virtually stripped of their power by a new elite of self-perpetuating corporation managers, who controlled the vast properties without owning them—something Marx had never dreamed of. The leviathans thus were left swinging in a kind of property vacuum. As the authors put it: "Ownership of wealth without appreciable control, and control of wealth without appreciable ownership, appear to be the logical outcome of corporate development." A voting proxy is not a means whereby an owner of corporate stock controls his property, but a means whereby control is taken away from him. If

he gets his "conventional dividend," however, he does not normally complain.

For the 200 corporations, control was found to lodge as follows:

In self-perpetuating management	44 percent
In legal devices, including pyramiding, non-voting stock, voting trusts	21
In minority interests	23
Total control without majority ownership of stock	88 percent

Thus property has come to be a different thing, and ownership a very different function, from most textbook stipulations. In many cases the great companies were found to be beyond and above the free competitive market. Either they were outright monopolies, or they practiced "monopolistic competition" like the great tobacco or motor car companies—a condition called by the awkward name "oligopoly" in another famous study, by E. H. Chamberlin.<sup>1</sup>

Gardiner Means, in a later analysis of prices in the depression, showed conclusively that prices in markets where there was active competition among small units like farmers, tended to fall as demand declined. The "law" of supply and demand worked. On the "administered" markets of great corporations, however, as demand fell, output was curtailed, workers were laid off, but prices were substantially maintained. Supply and demand did not work.

#### KEYNES AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION

John Maynard Keynes first came to public attention when, as a young man, he wrote *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. He took a gloomy view of the Peace of Versailles after World War I, and later events, culminating in the rise of

<sup>1</sup> *The Theory of Monopolistic Competition.*

Hitler, turned out to be even gloomier. He wrote with wit and precision, and was widely read through the 1920's, but the publication of *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* in 1935 made him world-famous. Hardly a professor could write a paper without discussing him pro or con. For a time it looked as if he were to join the ranks of the Big Theory men, to stand with Ricardo and Marx as a scholar who offered an answer to every economic question.

Now, a generation later, we are realizing that his contribution was more modest. He analyzed brilliantly what happens in a business depression, and went on to demonstrate how to prevent or halt depressions. He analyzed the up-phase of the cycle too, and showed how to check inflation. His slim volume, *How to Pay for the War*, contained suggestions for curbing inflation which all belligerent governments put to use in some degree in the 1940's, with the result that inflation was better controlled than during any other war in history. (Later it broke loose when the controls he recommended were relaxed.)

Keynes outlined what has been called the "compensatory economy," whereby the business cycle can be leveled out in peace time. The government engineers it, but businessmen and unions cooperate. The basic idea is to promote spending vigorously when the economy starts down, and vigorously restrain further spending and expansion when the economy starts soaring toward the stratosphere. He outlined the various tools to be used, such as public works, interest rates, controls on consumer credit, taxation policy, and so on.

His major thesis was that "the spending of income does not take care of itself automatically in such fashion as to tend constantly toward full employment"<sup>2</sup> He denied the Ricardian assumption that it did. Keynes said, in effect, that when an economy starts up, or starts down, in a major movement of inflation or deflation, political and business leaders had better

<sup>2</sup>I am following Dr. John Maurice Clark's analysis of Keynes, in an article for the *American Economic Review* in 1947.

do something about it, not fold their hands and wait for "natural law" to set things straight.

In a downswing, if consumers have no money to spend, and businessmen are afraid to spend for new investment, then the government had better spend. This policy was as reasonable as it was heretical from the Ricardian standpoint, for it contravened a major postulate of *laissez faire*: that intervention by the state is an absolute evil. But Keynes was no Marxian either; to the day of his death he was a vigorous defender of free competition whenever and wherever it would work.

He emphasized that men in bread lines, not prices in the market, are the more significant economic data. He split the academic guild wide open, and created a ferment among professional economists which rivaled the ferment Einstein had created among the physicists a generation earlier. He formalized a feeling which many economists were beginning to share, namely, that Ricardian theory did not fit reality closely enough to warrant following its principles in a major depression. Meanwhile not many economists, especially in America, were prepared to embrace Marxism as an alternative; it too was founded on exceedingly shaky assumptions, as we have seen. Keynes came to the rescue with a middle-road, pragmatic program which said in effect: "Don't stand there hoping for a god from the machine; *do something!*" And he made some excellent suggestions about what to do. It may well be that because of his work, no large nation will ever again submit to such a catastrophic depression as that of 1929-39. J. K. Galbraith, speaking of the United States, after the promises of the Republican administration to halt a downswing in 1954, puts it this way:<sup>3</sup>

There is a widespread notion that one of the most primitive of modern ideological choices is whether a government shall be Keynesian or not. In fact, faced with the reality of a depression, this comes to nothing more or less than a choice of whether or not to commit political suicide. . . . No present or future administration really has the non-Keynesian choice, come a serious depression, of

<sup>3</sup> *Economics and the Art of Controversy*

trying to balance the budget and letting nature, unemployment, farm prices . . . all take their course.

Keynes offers national administrations anywhere a three-point formula to stop depression: (1) lower taxes so that consumers can spend, (2) liberalize credit, (3) promote public works. It is to be presumed that no administration will refuse the gift after the harrowing lessons of the Great Depression.

While Keynes discussed in his writings the "propensity to consume," and the "propensity to save," which look like psychological factors, it is doubtful if he ever really grasped certain fundamentals of economic behavior. He was primarily an economist, not a sociologist. His economic theory did not allow, for instance, for the behavior of housewives after World War II. His school looked for a sharp depression when war spending stopped; estimates ran up to ten million unemployed in America unless the government took vigorous compensatory action. No action was taken, and unemployment never went above three million. Why? Because five long years without durable goods—refrigerators, washing machines, houses, automobiles—had built up a tremendous spending drive in millions of American households. Consumers descended on the market after the war like a tidal wave, bought everything in sight, and clamored for more. It would be hard to find a better illustration of the frailty of economic theory without the study of actual behavior.

### NEW DEAL PHILOSOPHERS

"The New Deal" is a label covering a series of congressional and administrative acts over a period of about seven years, 1933-40. The people who originated and refined these acts—the FDIC, SEC, AAA, TVA, and the rest of the "alphabet soup" as critics called it—had no settled economic philosophy at all. They were trying to stop the depression with any means which came to hand. Their efforts undoubtedly helped to stop it, but not until the war boom of 1941 was unemployment finally liquidated.

Two main ideas struggled for mastery in the ranks of the New Dealers. I used to sit in at some of their conferences and listen to the uproar. One group was for accepting Big Business, Big Labor, Big Government, and proceeding from that base with big overall planning. The other group, heavily influenced by Mr. Justice Brandeis, was for curtailing Big Business, enforcing the antitrust law, getting back to the grass roots and small units. Thurman Arnold was one of the leaders of the latter school, with his spirited campaign against monopoly.

There was, accordingly, no ideological unity among the New Dealers, no strong group of embattled followers of either Ricardo or Marx. There were some followers of Keynes, especially in the analysis of savings and investment. There were deliberate attempts, such as the Public Works Administration, to keep dollars moving according to Keynesian ideas.

Political opponents called the New Dealers "agents of Moscow." The actual agents of Moscow, with headquarters in Union Square, New York, called them "lily-livered liberals," "social fascists," and "agents of Wall Street." History, I suspect, will record that the period was marked by intelligent young men, some with degrees in economics, some with degrees from law schools, working 14 hours a day trying to find food and employment for a stricken people, trying to make the economic wheels go round again. In Middletown, we remember, a quarter of the population was on relief.

### PRACTICAL ECONOMICS

We have looked at the two Big Theories, Ricardian and Marxian, and retreated in some disorder. At best they are social science<sub>2</sub>—unverified hypotheses. We have inspected the less lofty formulations of Colin Clark, Berle and Means, Keynes, and found them helpful for a better understanding of what is going on—not *all* that is going on, but some of it.

Now we will sample some of the significant work performed by economists during World War II; work not only useful

but soundly scientific and capable of prediction. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, a large number of professional economists and statisticians volunteered for public service. Their activities were divided into these main groups (1) Price control and rationing, (2) The allocation of materials, (3) Techniques for financing the war, (4) Manpower mobilization, (5) Economic intelligence—such as finding out the economic condition of the enemy, and preclusive buying to keep strategic materials out of his hands.

Galbraith gives us a lively account of economists in action, especially in the price control board<sup>4</sup> "During the second World War the United States, partly by improvisation, partly by plan, developed a system for mobilizing economic resources that, by commonly accepted standards of performance, proved highly satisfactory." In common with most belligerents, the United States employed the "disequilibrium system," by which Galbraith means that the normal market economy was suspended for the duration. Old motivations were supplanted by new forces for determining economic behavior, among them government control over economic resources and over prices, including rationing.

Ordinary market incentives proved largely useless. Automobile makers, for instance, would not voluntarily convert to tanks and bombers even when guaranteed large profits. Similarly, steel makers declined to enlarge their capacity. Finally, the government through the War Production Board had to lay down the law, telling automobile men and steel men what they must do if the war was to be won.

As prices on many markets had long since been "administered," i.e., kept in line by business management, Galbraith found that in this case "price fixing presents no problem of principle, and the war experience came close to showing that such markets are not the exception . . . The designing of price regulations to fit the structure of such markets and their enforcement was the price administration's ablest piece of craftsmanship.

<sup>4</sup> "The Disequilibrium System," *American Economic Review*, June, 1947.

ship." Thus the thesis of Berle and Means was amply verified. When war came, the government took over the control of prices from the large corporate or trade association interests which for years had been exercising that supervision, and the transition was relatively smooth.

In those markets where free competition still remained, "price control must be supplemented by rationing. In spite of brilliant initial successes, this was the area of . . . failure in the operation of the disequilibrium system." But the failure was not the fault of the economists. The early rationing programs were ably conceived and ably executed. "A good case could be made that the rationing of meats, canned goods and fuel, were among the outstanding administrative achievements of the war." Meat rationing, in particular, brought order to markets which price control without rationing had reduced to chaos.

Price control, guided by such men as Leon Henderson, Galbraith, Donald Wallace, and John M. Clark, achieved brilliant success in holding prices. It was designed, launched, and administered largely by economists. Yet while it was in full career, Congress suddenly banned professional economists from holding administrative positions! Presumably they had never met a payroll, and did not know what they were doing. This was a savage thrust at social science. Scientists were not only saving the country's morale by holding prices firmly, but also saving billions of dollars for taxpayers. Yet Congress banished them to Siberia.

### GNP

The letters GNP stand for Gross National Product, which is an elaborate statistical compilation to estimate the total dollar value of goods and services turned out by a nation in a year. It is a rate of work and so a useful figure for peace as well as war, indicating levels of production, employment, and general economic well-being. A whole complex of studies have clustered around GNP. Isador Lubin believes that war production could not have reached the volume it did without this statistical information. He credits its inception to Wesley Mitchell's work on



national income at the National Bureau of Economic Research years before.

Thanks principally to the GNP studies, everybody who is interested in the economic shape of his world now knows that there are three, and only three, agencies which can spend money: (1) the ultimate consumer, (2) the businessman, (3) the government. Gross National Product is the total of their combined efforts. If the total begins to shrink, the first step is to find out which agency is curtailing its outlays, and why. The second step is to offset the shrinkage by stimulating one, or two, or all the agencies. This is the heart of the "compensatory" program for maintaining permanent prosperity.

Keynes, like Einstein, introduced the idea of relativity into his science. An increase in government spending at a time of full employment is an invitation to harmful inflation, but an increase at a time of serious unemployment is a blessing. More money placed in the hands of business when investors are alarmed by fears of depression will not "trickle down" to the consumers, but will remain frozen. When business investors have confidence, the reverse is true. It all depends upon when, and by whom, the spending is done—the judgment is relative, not absolute.

#### OTHER WAR ACTIVITIES BY ECONOMISTS

Stacy May headed a brilliant statistical group in the War Production Board that not only helped to find raw materials, but calculated the proper allocation between essential and less essential uses. The central control agencies, such as the Requirements Committee and the Controlled Markets Plan, were largely devised and staffed by economists, including E. S. Mason, W. L. Thorp, Clair Wilcox.

Then there was a series of Anglo-American economic control boards, some headed by economists like Thomas Blaisdell. There were economists in the War Shipping Board, in the Office of Defense Transportation, in the Board of Economic Warfare, in the Treasury advising on war loans, in the Bureau of the

Budget and in the Federal Reserve Board. Chairman Marriner Eccles was himself a profound student of economics.

The war called for all the analytical and administrative talents which classroom teachers of economics had ever concealed. It gave them full scope to show what they had in them. They responded magnificently but they worked within a closed system. The *end* was given: to win the war. Only the means were sought. This wartime experience, however, represented an important stage in the relation of economists to society. Thousands of them streamed across the bridge from uncertain theory to practical reality.

#### SOME FINANCIAL LESSONS OF THE WAR

Perhaps the major economic lesson of the war is the one underlined by the International Labor Office at its 1946 convention in Montreal. "A nation can afford anything it can produce." If this lesson had been learned before the stock market crash of 1929, there never would have needed to be a serious depression. Factories and workers were all there, ready to produce. But in 1929 it was believed that the country could not "afford" to let them go to work. This catastrophic cultural lag has now been pretty well overcome.

Beardsley Ruml continues the theme.<sup>5</sup> New discoveries due to war have not been limited to the natural sciences, he says. Great advances have also been made in the fields of finance and economics. The full impact is not yet understood, but we "know enough to know that some things which many competent people thought were true, are either false or true in a different way than was believed." For instance, during the 1930's most people believed that a budget deficit must have an inflationary effect. Now we know that this is not necessarily so.

"The plain fact is," says Ruml, "that the war was actually financed on a declining rate of interest. What does this mean? It means that a *new relationship* has been created between the private money market and the national state." To meet its ex-

<sup>5</sup> In a speech to the New York Employing Printers' Association in 1946.

penses, a nation can either tax or borrow. Borrowing postpones the tax. In the past this has meant higher interest rates charged by the private money market as the national debt has grown. Thus up to 1940 the private market—in the United States we call it Wall Street—dictated the terms for government loans, and usually dictated the tax structure.

In World War II this system was outgrown. Financing became too great for private lenders to handle. Private bankers no longer have the final word on the fiscal policies of the United States government, and control, says Ruml, must henceforth come from the whole community, not from private lenders. Washington, not Wall Street, is now the financial center of not only the country but the world. "It follows that our federal government has final freedom from the money market in meeting its financial requirements. Accordingly the prime consideration in the imposition of taxes has become the social and economic consequences"

It is interesting to note that while Ruml was describing this great historic change in the relative positions of Wall Street and the Treasury, Communists in Moscow were reviving their ancient slogans to the effect that Wall Street was out to dominate the planet. The Communists suffer more from cultural lag than many American conservatives.

Perhaps there is nothing to be called an "economic system" and therefore no laws foretelling its overall performance. But if somebody wants to operate a Central Bank, or float a bond issue, or finance a war, or halt a depression, or arrange an international loan, there are many useful tools now in the hands of economists to assist the process.

Both the great depression and the great war shook economists out of their classrooms into the market place—the real market, where they had to face the National City Bank, United States Steel, Henry Kaiser, John L. Lewis, Ed O'Neal of the Farm Bureau Federation, and the embattled Cattlemen's Association. Their classroom theories were of little use to them in the

"disequilibrium" system, but their habits of analysis and of suspended judgment, their ability to handle statistics, were of the greatest value. They got rid of their academic frustrations<sup>9</sup> by experience in practical policy-making and administration.

<sup>9</sup> ". . . Long-standing frustration on the part of many economists that economic theory gave no answers to questions of economic policy . . ." Paul T. Homan in *American Economic Review*, December, 1946.

## New Dimensions

We have applied the test of the scientific method to three departments of economics—General Theory, Special Theory, and Practical Applications. The first was found to be shaky, but the other two stood up well. Let us now look at some experiments, hypotheses, and studies in the economic field today which are opening a new dimension in economic thinking.

### OPERATION BOOTSTRAP

The island of Puerto Rico is smaller than the State of Connecticut, but has a larger population. It is a beautiful, mountainous island, with sugar fields along the coasts, white beaches, palm trees, old Spanish forts, and the incredible colors of the Caribbean sea all around. Those economists who have been fond of erecting theories with Robinson Crusoe's island as a model—a two-man economy—might turn with more profit to Puerto Rico, where they find a two-million-man economy.

"Operation Bootstrap" is an attempt to shift from a one-crop sugar culture to a diversified industrial society in a few years' time and do it without exploiting workers or surrendering democratic freedoms. It took the United States nearly a century to become a society primarily industrial. Political democracy was maintained, but the condition of workers in factories and mines, especially in the early years, left a good deal to be desired. It took the U.S.S.R. forty years to become a great industrial nation, for which the Russian consumer paid a heavy cost in low living standards.

In America our economic slogans have celebrated the indi-

vidualism of Ricardo, in the U.S.S.R. the collectivism of Marx. But in Puerto Rico we find a more realistic and scientific approach to economic problems. Operation Bootstrap is not "capitalism," or "socialism," or "labor unionism," or any other -ism. Its standard is the well-being of the whole island, using whatever agency—government, private business, cooperative enterprise—best serves that goal.

One would have expected a more ideological approach from the political party of Governor Muñoz Marín, for when it rose to power in 1940, the party was frankly socialistic. Early reforms were along socialist lines, with government corporations set up for both agriculture and industry, and plans for further nationalization on the drawing board. Private owners were to be bought out at a fair price (which is of course not the communist idea of nationalization) and the state was to become the major entrepreneur. The government acquired a cement plant, and built factories for the manufacture of shoes, paper, glass, clay products. It began collectivizing the sugar industry.

Presently the program got into management troubles, labor troubles, credit troubles. The cement plant did fairly well, but the other four state factories showed persistent losses. A serious difficulty was that the labor unions, who thought that a socialistic government was *their* government, expected exorbitant favors.

With the economy beginning to crack, the Governor and his staff abandoned socialism as a policy guide, and inaugurated Operation Bootstrap. They deliberately designed it to encourage the development of private business on the island, and to get the government out of losing enterprises. The five plants were sold to local capitalists who had demonstrated their managerial ability, and the proceeds were promptly used for new construction. Hotels and factories were built, to be leased or sold to businessmen. Proceeds from these were later reinvested in a kind of perpetual revolving fund. Taxes on new enterprises were abated for a series of years, and the labor force required was trained by the government.

Local businessmen and businessmen from the States began to

feel differently about a government which was so mindful of their interests, and good relations grew apace. While I was investigating the program in 1951, I used to hear American businessmen, interested in establishing a branch in San Juan, damn Washington as a nest of interfering bureaucrats, and in the next breath praise the staff of *Fomento* (Operation Bootstrap) as gentlemen and scholars. Their whole ideological mechanism seemed to have gone into reverse.

This was a strange but cheerful shift of gears. It meant that neither the structure of modern business, nor that of government, necessarily prevents friendly cooperation for common goals. The difference is ideological, not structural. Also it means, I am afraid, that Puerto Rico has forged far ahead of the mainland in developing this new dimension.

A major goal of the program is to cut down the birth rate, increase employment opportunities, and so reduce emigration to congested areas in New York and elsewhere. Industrialization, as population experts have demonstrated, always reduces the birth rate. It also reduces the death rate, especially of babies. I do not know whether this goal of balancing births against jobs can be reached, but there seems to be a good fighting chance. What nobody can overlook who studies the island is that Puerto Rico now offers a unique and significant laboratory for experimenting with economic change and economic behavior.

#### OTHER ECONOMIC LABORATORIES

There are other laboratories exploring the new dimension, though none so tidy as that of Governor Muñoz. Sweden has long practised the "Middle Way," with wide areas of agreement among businessmen, government men, and the managers of large cooperative associations. The powerful Social Democratic Party however, is committed to a mild type of socialism, as is the British Labour Party. Turkey provides another interesting laboratory in rapid economic and social change.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The USSR, has the largest economic laboratory of all but publishes no dependable results. The best guess is that it is old-fashioned in labor policy, and very hard on agriculture, but does turn out a surprising volume of munitions

The Tennessee Valley Authority has developed close coopération with businessmen in the Valley, but not with businessmen elsewhere, especially executives in the power and light industry. The United States Atomic Energy Commission is now promoting joint projects with private business in developing peacetime uses of atomic fission. In the manufacture of aircraft, partnership is well advanced; some 95 percent of all United States airplanes are built in private plants to government order, with the aid of research in government laboratories.

The fact of partnership in common goals is widespread, but only in Puerto Rico has a cease fire in the ideological battle of "Bureaucrats" vs. "Profiteers" been declared.

### COUNTERVAILING POWER

Probably the most arresting economic theory since Keynes is the concept of "countervailing power," advanced by J. K. Galbraith in 1952.<sup>2</sup> Puzzled because the "disequilibrium" system had not foundered, despite the gloomy prophecies of both conservatives and liberals, he sought a theory to explain the relative stability of the American economy in recent years.

Five massive political and economic forces, he finds, have supplied the checks and balances to keep the system on a reasonably even keel. They are: (1) Big Industry, (2) Big Distribution—the great mail-order houses, chains, supermarkets; (3) Big Labor; (4) Big Agriculture—with probably the most powerful lobby in Washington; and (5) Big Government

When one of these giants attempts to dominate the national scene, the others—one or more of them—make a countermove, thus producing in effect a competitive system on the highest level. If Big Industry gets too tough, Big Distribution will build its own factories to cut the price on washing machines or TV sets. If Big Labor thinks it owns the roost, Big Business, Government, and Agriculture may join to slap it down with a Taft-Hartley law. If Big Government tries to extend its industrial controls, the others may combine to set a limit. The old com-

<sup>2</sup> *American Capitalism.*



petitive system of small units, says Galbraith, has passed into history; but this supercompetition now provides a brake on excessive power in any one place.

It is a stimulating hypothesis, and is being widely discussed. Verification will have to wait for tangible performance over the years. Like the laboratory in Puerto Rico, the theory of counter-vailing power takes economic thinking into fresh new fields.

### THE CONCENTRATES

Adolf Berle in a recent book has pushed ahead with his theory of the development of corporations in America.<sup>8</sup> In his earlier work with Gardiner Means, he demonstrated how control had passed from legal owners to self-perpetuating managers, who might or might not own a share of stock. This demonstration helped to overturn traditional ideas about "capitalism"—as noted in the last chapter.

In the quarter-century since the publication of *The Modern Corporation*, the big firms in America have continued to grow, and owners have become still more detached from their legal property. Competition among giants, sometimes called monopolistic competition, is very different from competition among the little firms of Ricardo's day "It means quite another thing when four or five large units are grinding against each other." In motorcars, only three giants now grind, and if Chrysler is not careful, there may be only two. The few great companies grinding within a given industry Berle calls a *concentrate*. "Competition within a concentrate is more a struggle for power to balance supply against demand, than to secure customers by price competition."

Concentrates are found in oil, sugar, railroads, electric power, meat products, aluminum, chemicals, rubber, and many other mass production industries. Where are they headed? Nobody knows, but Berle ventures some preliminary speculations. "We are nibbling," he says, "at the edges of a vast, dangerous and fascinating piece of thinking." Americans are not used to think-

<sup>8</sup> *The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution.*

ing of Big Industry as the political institution which it has now actually become. We have not created any frame of responsibility, any formal mandate to make the concentrates legitimate.

"There is no recognized body of doctrine by which they themselves must test their choice as they act from day to day . . . no one has ever made a blueprint of the community desired by Jersey Standard, Sears Roebuck, Southern Pacific, Ohio Edison, least of all the corporations themselves."

I would like to pause for a moment here, and quote Mr. Frank Abrams, who as Chairman of the Board of Jersey Standard, once told me something of the future he desired for that vast enterprise. Its mission was to use scientific research to explore new and better ways of providing things that people wanted. It must become a kind of public service, said Mr. Abrams, responsible to at least four publics: to the consumers of its products, to its employees on all levels, to suppliers of its materials, and to government as representing the whole community. Unless Jersey Standard holds steadfastly to this role, Mr. Abrams prophesied, it will not survive—not in the kind of world which lies ahead.

To return to Mr. Berle: he calls in effect for the kind of corporate conscience expressed by the Chairman of the Board of Jersey Standard. Such conscience has not been widely developed. The "concentrates" swing in a legal and political vacuum, turning out half of America's goods, holding enormous interests abroad, "capable of becoming one of the master tools of society—capable also of surprising abuse. . . ." A common abuse today is for a concentrate to pick up and leave a town—say Manchester, New Hampshire—tearing the economic heart out of the community as it goes.

Berle finds that 135 nonbanking corporations control 45 per cent of United States industrial assets and account for a quarter of the manufacturing output of the world. Their managers decide. (1) the activities of millions of workers—subject to certain checks and balances by Big Labor and Big Government. (2) whether and how to carry on operations, whether to get out

of a city regardless of its future. (3) what markets to serve—either to meet a public demand, or create one. (4) the important function of technological development—for example, deciding how much automation to introduce, and how rapidly. They try (5) to influence public opinion through mass media. Finally (6), managers control the extent and rate of capital expansion, making that cardinal contribution to gross national product (GNP) noted in the last chapter.

The above six powers of management, says Berle, add up to an informal planned economy, leaving the “judgement of the market place” far behind. Some two thirds of the funds for expansion, furthermore, do not come from borrowing in the market place, but from sources within, or available only to, the concentrates—reinvested profits, depreciation and other reserves. Of \$150 billion of new capital improvements, 1946-53, about \$9 billion, or 6 per cent, came from stock issues. Only at this point do “we approach the risk capital so much relied on by classical economic theory. The capital is there; so is capitalism. The waning factor is the capitalist”

The concentrates, says Berle, share the goal of most American businessmen: “Fundamentally they all want not a perpetual struggle but a steady job—the job of producing goods at roughly predictable cost, under roughly predictable conditions, so that goods can be sold in the market at a roughly predictable price.” They want, of course, to grow in size and power.

Well, there it is, the economic powerhouse of half America, and a quarter of the world, the climax of a long process, markedly accelerated since 1930. Mr. Berle wants the managers to get religion, and feel greater responsibility for their massive institution, now in effect a political institution. Mr. Abrams seems to feel it, so does Murray Lincoln, the insurance company executive and cooperative leader, and one could name a few more. Most managers, one suspects, have little comprehension of the role into which history has thrust them.

Here then is another new dimension, demanding scientific analysis. It connects with the thesis of countervailing power. We

find in the concentrate the essence of America's secret of production. It is indeed a secret in the sense that nobody knows much about the forces which brought it to pass, or the trend it rides. To declaim about "our glorious free enterprise system" explains nothing. To declaim about "the blessings of competition," is not much better, until the extraordinary character of the competition, the grinding of the concentrates, and the countervailing thrusts of other institutions, are explained.

"If ever corporation managers base their continued tenure on power and not on reason, the end is disaster." Social scientists have plenty of work cut out for them here. Mr. Berle is of course not alone in the field, others are making contributions too—including acute studies of the new corporation structure by David Lilienthal and Peter Drucker.

#### RESEARCH IN ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR

New institutions obviously cannot be successfully analyzed with the tools of traditional economic research. The behavior sciences, including opinion research, must all be enlisted to help. To begin with, the postulates of the traditional Big Theories need more examination, not necessarily to refute them, but to determine what drives really underlie the behavior we call economic. Will an increase in wage rates, for instance, induce more or less work from the society? The Hawthorne experiments tell us something but not enough. Should a government seeking more output from citizens raise income taxes or lower them, make tax rates more steeply graduated or less? There is plenty of theory both ways, but what are the facts? We need more research on the behavior of unions, the behavior of household consumers—where, for instance, is the do-it-yourself movement taking us?—the behavior of large financial institutions, of government managers, as well as corporation managers.

What does "full employment" mean in human terms? What are the consequences of consumer attitudes on future economic conditions? Is there any saturation point to consumer demands? What is the process by which a new product—TV, for instance—is absorbed? What makes consumers spend or save? The

above questions, raised by a member of the economics faculty at Yale, are fundamental to an understanding of the American economy, and for most of them we have only tentative answers.

#### STUDIES AT MICHIGAN

George Katona of the University of Michigan, writing in the *Scientific American* (October, 1954), supplies some answers based on sampling United States consumers in recent years. After the outbreak of war in Korea, he says, prices rose sharply, with little increase in government spending or money in circulation—the classical reasons for inflation. But in the spring of 1951, when government spending in the form of rearmament outlays really began to roll, United States householders ceased their panic buying and began to save their money—contradicting traditional theory again. "People's economic behavior appeared to be governed more by their expectation of what was going to happen, than by the situation at the moment."

Katona reports that five sets of variables should be considered when research into economic behavior is undertaken: (1) enabling conditions—assets and income of the group being studied; (2) precipitating circumstances—a new house, a new baby; (3) habits as imposed by the culture; (4) contracts already in force—for installment purchase of the new car, for rent, insurance; (5) psychological state of consumers at the time. "As a result of group identification and mass communication, similar changes in attitude often occur among very many people at about the same time," and so a measurable trend can be plotted.

In an economy held to bare subsistence such trends will not appear, as all income goes for stark necessities. As abundance comes in, the definition of a "necessity" expands, and consumers' choices become more complicated. Analysis of economic behavior becomes increasingly essential as living standards rise. Katona offers the following generalizations.

Keynes said that in prosperous times, people whose income declines will draw on savings to maintain standards. Research shows this to be correct, provided they expect the decline to be temporary.

Keynes said that as consumer income rises, savings also increase.

No, says Katona, our studies show that spending often goes up faster than income. In the period 1947-50, people with rising incomes borrowed the most; people with declining incomes came second; people with steady incomes borrowed least.

Classical postulates say that if people expect prices to go up they will buy; if down, they will not buy. Advertised bargain sales contradict this conclusion, and such sales have a substantial effect on consumer behavior today.

If people think prices are "about right" they will buy briskly; this is the condition most favorable to consumer spending. The current business policy of aiming at price stability, tempered with bargain sales, suits householders.

There is no "saturation point" in buying-as-a-whole, says Katona. If people have enough cars, they will send their children to college "We give up aspirations when we have failed, not when we have succeeded." Following the American success saga, our buying proceeds from one level to another. "Saturation" for most people comes only when they feel economically insecure. (For some of us, however, saturation comes with material comfort. Personally I do not want to be bothered with any more stuff, and buy less than I did 20 years ago. But my status in the culture depends on my work as a writer, not on keeping up with the Joneses, and so I am probably an abnormal case.)

The last generalization of Katona's is encouraging. His surveys show no reason to expect a depression automatically following a period of prosperity, but rather the contrary. Consumers do not behave in a way to give the business cycle any regularity of ups and downs. (Perhaps we ought to drop that word "cycle" as a semantic misfit.)

We have learned enough from these surveys, Katona says, to know that "economic psychology very usefully supplements the theoretical and statistical approach of traditional economics." Mr. Katona is too modest. his surveys do not so much supplement the traditional approach as make a shambles of it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Another fruitful lead in this connection is the work of a team composed of Oskar Morgenstern, economist, and John von Neumann, mathematician. Their book, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*, brings the laws of probability to bear on decision-making by executives and other economic agents

Reviewing the art and science of economics today, one finds encouraging signs of a new dimension. Fortified with studies in behavior, in probability mathematics, and aided by electronic computers—as in Leontief's "Input-Output" calculations<sup>5</sup>—some fresh and important economic theory may be close at hand. Galbraith and Berle are obviously on the edge of it, and a whole school may blossom quite suddenly. It will not be grandiose, full-whiskered theory covering the entire economy, but limited, verified theory, which policy-makers in government and in business—and in households too—can put to useful work.

<sup>5</sup>In which the raw material used by every industry is balanced against the finished product of every industry, an impossible statistical achievement before electronics. See his book, *The Structure of the American Economy*.

## Reforming the Reformers

To one who has been advocating reforms of one kind and another ever since he read Henry George on the single tax many years ago, social science in its more rigorous aspects comes with something of a shock. Your author looks back at his enthusiasms and begins to realize that some of his aims were unachievable, and most of his means were unworkable. Clearly he will have to start again from the beginning, and he is not as young as he was.

We are speaking of reformer<sub>1</sub>, who genuinely wants to see conditions remedied, without too personal a motive. Reformer<sub>2</sub>, on the other hand, as the psychologists describe him, is a frustrated individual with something wrong in his home or job or emotional life. He takes to communism, currency reform, or technocracy, as an escape from personal difficulties. Reformer<sub>2</sub>, furthermore, tends to select a cause where he can do a lot of hating—communism, for instance, is ideal for this, with its hierarchy of demons: "Capitalists," "Wall Street," "Imperialist Warmongers," "Trotskyites." The best service which science could render reformer<sub>2</sub> would be to clear up his emotional insecurity.

What can social science do for reformer<sub>1</sub>? A number of helpful suggestions are on file and more are being accumulated all the time. We have met a few of them earlier in this book and will now try to get them in some sort of order. This chapter is addressed to those who seriously want to change an institution or a custom in the culture, especially in the field of economics.



## PERPETUAL MOTION MACHINES

Perhaps the first task for the genuine reformer is to take a look at the history of perpetual motion machines. For centuries, at least as far back as the Greeks, ingenious persons have devoted themselves to a search for the principle of perpetual motion. Some wanted to make their fortunes, others a great name, most, perhaps, were just curious

Whatever their motives, the inventors spent years constructing frictionless wheels, ball-bearing spheres, dissolving chemicals, and mechanical constructs that would amaze cartoonist Rube Goldberg. The wheel which the Marquis of Worcester devised in 1660 was 14 feet in diameter and elaborately rigged with 40 sliding weights of 50 pounds apiece. Even Leonardo gave his attention to a wheel to turn itself forever by quicksilver. The screw of Archimedes, the "hydrostatical paradox," capillary attraction, were all employed by the savants. Crackpots to this very day are working on electronics, magnetism, natural heat, and liquid air, hoping to give their construct a shove which will keep it going forever.

As early as 1775 the Paris Academy of Science refused to receive any more schemes for perpetuum mobile, though the theoretical refutation was still incomplete. When the first and second laws of thermodynamics were laid down a little later, perpetual motion machines were thrown finally into the scientific ash can. Nobody in his right mind would ever again waste time on them—except to sell a gold brick to the scientifically illiterate.

How many social and economic mechanisms for reform—agitated and supported by leagues, societies, institutes, celebrities, mass subscriptions, and high-priced publicity agencies—are perpetual motion machines? Every week as I open my mail and the appeals and summonses to action drop out, I finger them and ponder how much of a perpetuum mobile is this, and had the Marquis of Worcester anything to beat that?

The social scientists have not yet produced generalizations as

elegant and definitive as the first and second laws of thermodynamics, but they have produced enough to raise a large question mark over my mail. They are certainly as far along as the Paris Academy when it banged the door on callers with a box of sliding weights. Already they have chilled my crusading zeal, built up my bank account, and caused me to get a larger wastebasket.

Here is a sample from an aspiring inventor. During the great depression I received literally hundreds of such plans, representing incalculable devotion by their authors.

Dear Mr Chase:

The fateful years prior to and during the late war with their terrible aftermath have impressed all thoughtful people with the pressing need for some basic change in our social system.

In my manuscript, *The Perfect Answer*, I have outlined a plan to eliminate the boom-and-bust economic cycle, as well as the peace and war political cycle. I have also devised a transition period which would ultimately give us the perfect world of tomorrow through a form of evolution allowing complete fairness to all concerned.

Feeling that you would be interested, I am mailing you a copy of my plan. Please send me your comments as soon as possible and suggest what publisher would be most interested in it.

Yours very truly,  
Ernest Mead

Mr. Mead—I am shielding his real name—is obviously on the side of the angels. But I am afraid that he was beaten by the laws of the culture concept before he started.

Linton explains in one sentence what is wrong with most Utopias and with such omnibus schemes as Mr. Mead's. "The greatest difficulty which confronts a leader who seeks to develop a new society is that he has to start with persons who have already been trained to live in some other society." The Utopia builder can compose admirable constitutions and codes; but the wayfaring citizen is unable to accept them outright no matter how much he may desire to. "People live mainly by habit, acting as they have been taught to act without stopping to think first."

If we were suddenly transported to Utopia we should have to stop and think before nearly every act we performed, and would go stark mad long before we acquired a whole new set of automatic habits. We should be like the centipede who was asked which leg came after which, only to fall exhausted in the ditch, considering how to run.

Training to live in one's culture, as we have seen, begins at birth. By the time George Adams is even half-grown he has accumulated a mass of unconscious habits closely fitted to his Middleburg society. If George's little son were sent to live in a Burmese village, the boy could probably shift over within a few years. But if a large group of Americans go to live in Burma, they will take most of their culture with them and not even learn the language. The typical Utopian reform is like trying to move a whole American town to Burma and make it a Burmese community overnight. It is a *perpetuum mobile*. So is the converse, sometimes attempted by missionaries and economic advisers—making a native community behave like Americans.

#### WHEN REFORM HAS A CHANCE

A second fundamental principle for practical reformers is that a successful movement requires enough tension and frustrations in the society to offer political leverage. When the majority of citizens are going contentedly about their business, the reformer had better teach canasta or give a course on the Great Books. A good illustration is the postwar period in the United States. With practically full employment all large plans for housing, health, minimum wages, inflation control, were received with yawns. There was not enough frustration to give such reforms a chance, however useful they might have proved.

A major problem of the reformer is to determine when the lag between popular credos and real need is great enough to promise some success. Franklin Roosevelt, who was far from being a typical reformer, happened to arrive when the lag was long, and a change overdue. Three years of economic paralysis had made the need for jobs, food, security, abnormally great.

The credos of the American culture, with their insistence on self-help, had come to sound unrealistic, if not positively cruel. Action was accordingly possible over a wide front, and Roosevelt and his New Dealers moved briskly in with a whole alphabet of reforms. The tensions and the frustrations were there; and though the old credos began to be heard again on Main Street after 1935, the needs of the mass of the people were strong enough to reflect Roosevelt repeatedly, a political phenomenon without precedent.

Had Roosevelt been aware of these cultural laws he might have laid his communication lines more wisely and achieved wider agreement. Unfortunately he saw the situation as a fight, good people against bad, when it was not that kind of two-valued situation. He called the "bad people" a number of hard names—"moneychangers," "economic royalists," and the like. Naturally this infuriated the well-to-do; and they heaped on Roosevelt all their depression-born frustrations and fears. If the President had consistently spoken for *all* the people whom the depression had hurt or bewildered, including the upper brackets, and summoned all brackets to move toward recovery and freedom from fear, he might have averted much of the Roosevelt-hating. The point is that the great depression provided one of the few periods in history when a large majority of the people were ready for change.

### CLASS STRUGGLES AGAIN

Many reform movements, as we noted earlier, assume an inevitable conflict between the classes and the masses. Two types of conflict are always latent, though they do not often follow the Marxian pattern. They arise between the individual and society, and between groups inside the society. The individual is kept in line by formal or informal penalties, ranging from ridicule, through ostracism and imprisonment, to death at the hands of the law. The important thing to remember, observes Linton, is that these penalties are rarely used. Most individuals are successfully conditioned to the patterns they are expected to conform

to, and carry them out unconsciously. The thief and the murderer get the headlines, but they are exceptions

In handicraft societies even stealing is rare. Among the Sakalava of Madagascar, for instance, when a person steals for the first time the circumstances are carefully investigated. If the thief was actually hungry, he is given land and a chance to reform. If he steals again, he is speared—not in a spirit of revenge but because he has shown himself a public liability.

Struggles between groups, or class struggles, are not frequent in societies where all members have a fixed place in the culture, as noted earlier. They arise when status is being undermined—as the factory system undermined it in Europe in the nineteenth century. Factory workers were under continual tension because they had no accepted place—until labor unions were invented to give them one. In the United States status has never been rigid, except perhaps for Negroes. Classes here are mobile, as the proverb “shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations” indicates. Few Americans care for the role of “proletarian,” while the managers of industry, as Berle and Means pointed out, have superseded the “owner” and split the solid front among the “capitalists.”

I would venture a guess—a wild one to be sure—that more than half the reform energy in this country over the past 50 years has been directed to a perpetuum mobile. The reformers' research, such as it was, had never included a controlled study of human behavior. Old-line socialists, dimly recognizing this, used to complain about the “dumb” workers who could not be brought to recognize their class interest. How could they recognize what they did not have?

In Chapter 12 we observed a few perpetual motion machines in efforts to improve race relations. We concluded that where a caste system exists, as in the deep South, reforms based on logic, justice, reason, are unavailing, while strong-arm measures are likely to boomerang. People in the deep South hold their belief systems as sincerely as people in the North. To them, logic, reason, and justice are on the side of caste. They will fight

any one who tries to destroy caste abruptly or violently. Reformers who neglect these scientific findings are squandering their energy, to say nothing of the funds of their well-meaning subscribers.

### FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

W. F. Ogburn, whom we met as a student of social change, advises reformers<sup>1</sup> to figure out the social forces which will aid the change, and those which will oppose it. The next step is to study carefully three factors which are bound to affect any but the smallest change, namely: (1) the natural environment; (2) the biological factor of heredity; (3) the culture, including customs and beliefs.

Natural environment changes only over long periods, but man can control it to a degree by using oil-heated houses, igloos, woolen clothing, umbrellas, air conditioning, snowplows, headlights, deep freezers, TVA systems, irrigation, contour tillage, rain-making.

Human heredity has apparently not changed much since Cro-Magnon man. Eugenic programs to modify *homo sapiens* deliberately are mostly talk, though we see what might be done in the effects of deliberate breeding on plants, fowls, and race horses. Fortunately, in the present state of knowledge we cannot tamper with our genes, which are singularly well encased against reformers. Even sterilization does not get far, Hitler provided some revolting examples in this department. The genes possessed by different family lines, says Ogburn, are not well known. The best thing we can do now is to reform our diets, especially by the better feeding of babies, and so improve each generation. Already we can measure the effects of orange juice, green vegetables, and plenty of milk on the present generation of American college girls and boys. As a group they are taller, heavier, and larger-footed than their parents.

Moving on to the third factor, culture, Ogburn says that progress can be made if the reformer carefully fits his program into

<sup>1</sup> Letter to *The New York Times*, September 29, 1946.

the folkways and allows for cultural lag—a precaution which Franklin Roosevelt did not take. One New Deal reform, however—the Food Stamp Plan—did exactly that. So skilfully did Milo Perkins, its inventor, map his campaign that when the plan was finally launched on a nation-wide basis it was everywhere applauded, without a single vested interest in opposition.

Head-hunting, a strong cultural trait in various primitive societies, may lead to rapid depopulation, and colonial administrators are always trying to check it. In Sarawak, British reformers have abolished the active practice but have wisely kept the tribal credos unimpaired. Officials accumulate old skulls as trophies and issue them when needed for a given ceremony. Among the Papuans, meanwhile, bridegrooms have been persuaded to offer a boar's skull to their brides. It is pointed out that a boar is harder to bring down than a human, especially a woman or a child, and is therefore a better proof of manhood.

These, like the Food Stamp Plan, are examples of really effective reforms. Belief systems are maintained while the harmful practice is eliminated and a better one substituted.

#### LABORATORY FOR TESTING PLANS

Such prevision and calculating take time, while the typical reformer is in a hurry. "Unbridled social idealism," says George Lundberg in *Can Science Save Us?* "unbalanced by scientific criteria as to possibilities and cost, is a social liability and in effect a type of fraud on the body politic." The American prohibition law of 1920 was probably of that type. It was promoted, at least in part, by fanatics who lacked the remotest idea of the culture concept and the probable psychological effects of their reform. Alcoholism is a social calamity, but it must be controlled by a different strategy.

Social scientists have been at a disadvantage in competition with eager reformers who promise panaceas. But now scientists are getting into a position to tell us not only what won't work, but what might. I, for one, would like to see a series of competent scientific reports on such current proposals as

Plans for the control of atomic energy (like the Lilienthal-Acheson proposal).

Restoring international free trade.

Federal World Government.

Calendar revision.

The Social Credit proposals.

A wide extension of Rochdale cooperatives.

Protecting witnesses in congressional investigations.

Installation of the metric system by all nations.

Adoption of a universal language.

Proposals such as these cry for analysis, and every day there is a new one, judging by my mail. Perhaps a permanent laboratory should be set up by scientists to dissect economic and social reforms. It might even be made self-supporting. When an inventor is seized with a plan to save the world, he might take his blueprint to the laboratory, and for say \$100, get a report on any stray elements of perpetual motion it might contain.

Inventors of nonpuncturable tires and plastic TV selectors can choose among a number of testing laboratories, to say nothing of patent attorneys, and Consumers' Research and Consumers' Union. Social inventions are much harder to analyze, but a scientific appraisal would be welcomed by those whose goal is benevolence, not hatred, and who really want to get a mess cleaned up.

### THE MUCKRAKERS

Lincoln Steffens made a significant contribution to political science during the great muckraking era after the turn of the century. He cut through the stereotype of the big, wicked political boss, and gave us the real story.<sup>2</sup> Low-income people in the great cities of the power age have deep-seated needs, both material and emotional. Their economic security is low, their status indeterminable, and their relations with city neighbors uncertain and often unsatisfactory. Into this situation steps the city boss. He finds out what people want and, in exchange

<sup>2</sup> In his autobiography.



for votes, tries to satisfy these desires. He sends groceries to a hungry family, finds a job for an unemployed bricklayer, delivers coal when the thermometer drops to zero. Above all, through the "organization," he re-creates the face-to-face group. It may be a sorry substitute for the immemorial village community but it is something.

Thus the boss not only wins votes for the party and power for himself, but reduces frustration, bitterness, and even violence. If the Japanese-Americans at Poston had had a "boss" to discover their needs and satisfy them, tension might not have mounted so high. A case could be made, though I do not remember that Steffens ever made it, that the political boss is the institution which keeps Megalopolis from disintegration, especially during its melting-pot period.

In contrast with this shrewd analysis, most reformers, muckrakers, "do-gooders," Steffens pointed out, conducted their strategy on the hypothesis that bosses were "bad," politics "dirty," poor people weak and gullible—and not very clean either<sup>3</sup>—and that "good government" with a spry businessman in the mayor's swivel chair was the answer.

After many spirited reform campaigns, businessmen swiveled in dozens of chairs but they did not prove to be the answer. The voters, it turned out, missed the boss. If Uncle Timothy dies, the boss calls to express his sympathy and helps out with the funeral expenses. The boss can tear up a parking ticket or help out a juvenile offender for a grieving mother. "All of these rewards," observe Miller and Dollard, "are immediate and therefore more effective than the delayed consequences of good government." The real task of a municipal reformer is thus very different from the assumed task; *it is to beat the boss in finding out what people need and meeting those needs*. Indeed it is similar to the task of the foreign aid administrator in the international field—to get ahead of the communist infiltrators in satisfying local wants.

<sup>3</sup> Bathtubs, if any, were used for storing coal, according to the stereotype.

## NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING

Reformers who advocate planning can find some excellent advice in the files of the London *Economist*. Suppose, said the *Economist*,<sup>4</sup> that after the war Britain had called her best social scientists together to plan for demobilization and reconstruction. *First*, the planners would use polls to find prevailing attitudes. What do people want most—what will they stand for? *Second*, they would appraise Britain's foreign balance of payments, exports, imports, United States loans and lend-lease contracts, with a cold eye. *Third*, they would similarly appraise Britain's production possibilities. *Fourth*, they would study the attitudes of the government of the U.S.S.R., the Indian leaders, for areas of possible international conflict and danger.

On the basis of these hard looks, the scientists would block out a flexible program, and use all the modern arts of communication to put it before the British people and also the people of the United States.

But what actually happened? asked the *Economist*. The Labour Government then in power did not use polls; it had no clear idea of the needs of the people at all. It made too many campaign promises. When the government tried to keep some of them, like permanent housing, it found the program completely out of place in the postwar emergency. It forgot other promises, and hushed up bad news; yet psychologists know that in many emergencies people stand things better if they are frankly told the worst. In an earlier crisis, Winston Churchill had promised nothing but blood, sweat, and tears.

Finally and most serious of all, said the *Economist*, the Labour Government wasted valuable time trying to nationalize industries on the Marxian formula. The coal industry was breaking down because of ever deepening shafts and *had* to be nationalized, but other nationalization proposals—like steel—were dubious even in normal times.

<sup>4</sup>December 14, 1946.

In a democratic state, the planning must be done by political parties. Yet no economic policy is right at all times, and the skilled economic planner must know when to reverse his engines. But political parties are not equipped with reversing gear. In 1931 the Tories showed how stubbornly they could defy the facts and follow a policy of contraction in the middle of deflation. Their performance has been equaled by the Labour Party since 1945, with its devotion to the trade union doctrine that it is always right for the pay envelope to grow. Clearly, if it is unsafe to let the Tories out of jail in a slump, the Labour Party ought to be locked up in times of inflation . . . However, in spite of the doubts, mankind is not now going to abandon the resolve to be master of its economic circumstances.

If the *Economist* is right in believing that nations will increasingly try to plan their economic destinies, the social scientist becomes a consultant of the first importance. Working in a team of specialists, everlastingly digging for the facts—he can advise a government whether its plans have a chance to succeed, or are just so many perpetual motion machines.

## The Behavior of Groups

The scientific analysis of face-to-face groups was launched in the 1930's by a social psychologist who came to America from Germany, the late Kurt Lewin. His experiments with children making masks have become a classic in the field of group dynamics, like Elton Mayo's classic experiments in the labor-management field.

We have crossed the trail of small groups repeatedly throughout this book. Not only did the relay room and the bank wiring room at Hawthorne illustrate group behavior, but so did the informal teams in aircraft factories, the solidarity of combat fliers in World War II, and many more.

### II HANDICRAFT CLASSES

Shortly before World War II, Lewin, with Ronald Lippitt and R. K. White, made an intensive study of ten- to twelve-year children in handicraft classes at the Iowa State Welfare Station. The scientists were allowed to rearrange the classes, and they set up three structures: autocratic, democratic, and anarchistic.

In the first an adult leader told the youngsters exactly what to do; in the second he kept his hand on the group, but let the children make most of the decisions; in the third he left them to make *all* the decisions, without any real leader. Children were shifted from group to group to make sure that structure, not personality, was chiefly responsible for results.

Conclusions from the experiment proved heartening to believers in democracy and the techniques of participation. The

autocratic group caused a good deal of internal friction, forcing some youngsters to leave, and began to disintegrate after the adult leader withdrew. The anarchistic type fell apart almost immediately. But the democratic group, starting slowly, built up so much internal stability that when the adult leader left, it went right on functioning.

The experiment demonstrated that participation and so-called "permissive" leadership make a stronger, more productive group than either autocratic leadership or a policy of everyone for himself. The results agree with other experimental findings, as well as with much practical experience. They still need more detailed laboratory checking, especially in other kinds of situations, and more theory to explain them.

#### EXPANDING LABORATORIES

The movement Lewin started is now literally sweeping the country. Face-to-face groups, of course, had been studied before,<sup>1</sup> but Lewin added precision, and deliberately undertook to make it social science.<sup>1</sup> His books are concerned with experimental techniques in group behavior, how controlled experiments may be set up and verified, how research may be applied to change.

The famous National Training Laboratory, now operating each summer at Bethel, Maine, was founded by Lewin, and "little Bethels" are spreading across the nation to the Pacific Coast. I have visited the Maine laboratory three times, and find it a fascinating enterprise. "Delegates" who work professionally with groups at home—teachers, adult educators, business executives, union leaders, Y.M.C.A. secretaries, government administrators, Army and Navy officers—are formed into experimental groups of various sizes, with various tasks, under various kinds of leadership. Their performance is analyzed by a competent research staff, using observers, tape recordings, a special ques-

<sup>1</sup> As in the work of E. C. Lindemann, Charles H. Cooley, Mary P. Follett, Alfred Sheffield, and others.

tionnaire called "PMR" (post meeting reaction), and other techniques.

Sometimes a giant role-playing project is set up. In 1954, members of the laboratory impersonated various citizens of a community faced with a crisis in its school building program. I played the part of a member of the planning commission, and became increasingly involved as the crisis developed. Role-playing, much used in group analysis, has the strange effect of involving one's emotions in the role he is playing, and making him share the other fellow's feelings. Our school crisis at Bethel took two days to work through. It is safe to say that everyone who participated will approach a real crisis in his own town with greater awareness of the forces involved.

The goal of the Bethel Laboratory is to learn to predict how people will react in face-to-face groups, and to improve performance, both individual and collective. The field for practical application is virtually unlimited—school committees, P.T.A. meetings, directors' meetings, classroom teaching, Army training, faculty meetings, fraternity meetings, union meetings, business conferences, international conferences, UN meetings—an endless array now full of headaches and frustrations. Perhaps Americans hold too many meetings. Bethel can help us find out.

One of the staff at Bethel, Herbert A. Thelen of the Education Department of the University of Chicago, has dramatically demonstrated how the techniques may be put to work.<sup>2</sup> He used them to set up a series of block organizations in the Hyde Park district of Chicago, a large section with many fine houses, which was threatening to become a "blighted area," if not a slum. Homes had been thrown on the market for sale, white residents were beginning to leave, real estate values were dropping, rumors were rife and violence in the air.

Five years later, in 1954, more than 400 blocks had been organized by white and Negro families together, in a cooperative

<sup>2</sup>See Dr. Thelen's account of the experiment in his book, *Dynamics of Groups at Work*, and Julia Abrahamson's *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*

effort to improve the section and make it a better place to bring up children. The city and the University have started a huge redevelopment project for the seedier blocks, and it looks as though Hyde Park will be saved. A vigorous application of group dynamics has helped to save it.

The adult education movement is vitally interested in group analysis, both to improve performance in classes and as a subject for study. Its magazine, *Adult Leadership*, keeps up with the latest research findings.

Lewin said that if a person is to change his habits, he must change *as a whole*. This can often be done best through a group. Alcoholics Anonymous is a good illustration, in which members, trying to break the drinking habit, support one another's resolution. It has proved far more effective than lectures, logical arguments, or taking the pledge.

Alexander Bavelas was one of Lewin's associates at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He continues there as an experimenter and industrial consultant, arranging ingenious structures to test face-to-face groups. He gives the example of introducing a new machine in a factory, a machine which requires a rearrangement of jobs. If it appears suddenly on Monday morning, already connected, the morale of the whole department is likely to be shattered. If, however, the machine is placed on the floor unconnected, and its functions are carefully explained—"Look, this is how it works"—disorganization will be less. But the best method, says Bavelas, is to consult with the men *before* bringing in the machine. If the workers themselves can be involved in its adoption, the new machine will be introduced without a tremor. Such a course can transform an impending change "from a misfortune to be resisted or endured, to a positive step to be willingly taken."<sup>3</sup>

Group dynamics has already developed a body of principles, of which these six impress me as particularly helpful.

<sup>3</sup> Confirmed by Edmund Brunner, when studying the introduction of a cane cutter and harvester in Hawaiian sugar fields in 1937.

1. Identify oneself with other members in the group, rather than play a lone hand.
2. Encourage maximum participation in activities and discussions.
3. Practice democratic or "permissive" leadership.
4. Protect the emotional security of others. Never let a member feel ridiculous.
5. Keep communication lines open.
6. Encourage better listening.

### IN CONFERENCE

In Stouffer's laboratory at Harvard is Robert F. Bales, specializing in group analysis.<sup>4</sup> Let us stop for a moment and gaze through his "one-way window." He has important suggestions for us to employ at the next meeting we attend, supplementing the principles listed above.

Here is a room about the size of a small classroom, with blackboard, round table, chairs, and what seems to be a large mirror on one wall. Out in the hall we enter a closet behind that mirror, and find to our surprise that we can look through it and see everything going on in the classroom. One-way glass divides the two groups; a microphone catches all the talk in the classroom, and a tape recorder can preserve it.

In addition, the staff has developed a machine like a typewriter to record changes in group behavior. Twelve standard types of interaction can be clicked off on this machine: three kinds of questions, three kinds of answers; three kinds of negative behavior—disagreement, tension, antagonism; three kinds of positive behavior—agreement, release of tension, friendly solidarity. It takes long training to record these changes rapidly and reliably. All the techniques have been improved since Bales first set up his window in 1947, and thousands of group meetings have now been studied.

What kind of meetings? Many kinds—family discussions, business conferences, labor-management negotiations, classroom

<sup>4</sup> See his book, also accounts in *Harvard Business Review*, March, 1954, and *Scientific American*, March, 1955.



seminars, problem-solving meetings. Will people talk freely when they know they are being watched? They are always told, and experience shows that the group usually takes about five minutes, like a motor on a cold morning, to warm up. It then forgets the unseen observers and turns over normally.

### PROBLEM-SOLVING

A long study, involving hundreds of meetings, has been made by Bales of groups trying to solve a specific problem—say a business staff discussing a pension system for employees. What happens in such a situation? What is the best group size? What leaders arise? What antagonisms develop? What can be learned to help problem-solving groups elsewhere?

About half the time in a problem-solving conference, the experiment shows, is spent in answering questions. Such a 50-50 balance may be one characteristic of good communication, allowing plenty of give-and-take, so that members do not leave the conference with unresolved doubts. A group decision is not successful unless members feel actually bound by it, as proved in their subsequent behavior. Members feel bound, furthermore, only when they have participated in making the decision. This need not mean an equal amount of talk, some may not even talk at all. It means a *mental* involvement. But a voiced reaction does help for there is “no adequate substitute for some actual verbal participation of each member.”

When a real row develops, the observer behind the window is in danger of becoming involved himself. He may have heard the same case discussed many times before, but he is “caught in the illusion of reality” as the temperature in the classroom rises. Here is an example of what follows.

Suddenly the credulity of the observer is strained beyond some critical point. The illusion that the group is dealing with some external problem breaks. It becomes perfectly transparent . . . that emotions have taken over, and that what one member is saying does not refer at all to some external situation but to himself and the other members present. “Facts” are unwittingly invented or are

falsified. Other facts drop out of sight entirely. When one member insists that "people in this office should be treated like human beings," it is clear that he refers to himself and how he feels he should be treated. When his opponent insists that "troublemakers should be fired," it is equally clear that he refers to the man who just spoke to him.

If this particular business group reaches a decision—which is unlikely—it will have all the characteristics of a bad dream.

On the other hand there can be too much sweetness and light in problem-solving. A group determined to agree on everything rarely arrives at durable decisions. There must be some give-and-take, some pungent criticism, usually some compromise, to arrive at consensus on tough problems.

The laboratory has determined the best order for discussing a problem, and it happens to be the "exact opposite of that which is characteristic of formal parliamentary procedure." Successful groups go through three steps, always in this order:

*First*, they assemble the largest possible pool of facts.

*Second*, they make inferences and evaluations based on these facts, and try to form common opinions on a level *above* the actual problem in hand.

*Third*, then, and only then, do members begin offering specific suggestions for the actual problem—suggestions fertilized by a rich background of fact and common opinion.

Not all groups do this by any means; many begin with suggestions. Many members "are hardly conscious of any difference between a fact and an opinion." Then trouble lies ahead. A good suggestion given too early either dies for lack of support or "is trampled to death in the general melee"

#### TWIN LEADERS

Bales and his staff have reached a striking conclusion about group leadership. It is usually assumed that members in a face-to-face group compete for leadership—provided a leader is not designated in advance. They do compete but this is only part

of the story. A problem-solving group normally develops *not one but two leaders: a task leader and a social leader*. The function of the first is to keep the boys on the problem. The function of the second is to keep the boys in good temper

The task leader emerges as a rule in the first session, and often he will be voted "best liked" in the PMR as well. In the second session, however, his popularity wanes as he holds noses to the grindstone. Somebody else wins the "best-liked" role, somebody who can crack jokes, relieve tensions, make members feel good. By the end of the fourth session, on the average, the chance of the task leader also being the social leader has sunk to *one in seven!*

Not many persons can fill both roles because the functions are so different. But it is important for each leader to recognize the other's role, and form a working coalition. "There are indications that such small and durable groups as the family . . . are constructed this way, and apparently the coalition also takes place in many administrative staffs, sometimes consciously but more often accidentally." In the family, presumably, father is the task leader, and mother the social leader. Says Bales

Millions are spent each year by business, government, and the armed forces in developing means for recognizing leaders—yet it appears that whatever superior qualities the individual may possess he may be unable, just because of the way groups work, to maintain a stable leadership position without a co-leader of complementary qualities.

Quite a window, this of Mr. Bales. Here are some further conclusions, drawn after years of analyzing face-to-face groups:

Seven members are about the limit for problem-solving. Two or three are not enough, they get into power difficulties—one against one, or two against one.

Be wary of too many "lugh participators," i.e., bright boys who know the answers and are oververbalized. For best results, the group should be salted with a few quiet characters

If a row is brewing, *back-track to the facts with all possible*

*speed*—before facts become weapons and unrecognizable. Also try to find similar experiences—referents—for the words being used. Unless experiences overlap, the same words often mean different things to different people.

Keep your eyes on the group rather than on a particular member. "Nothing tones up general harmony like a good strong undercurrent of direct eye contact."

Keep your ear, meanwhile, to the ground. Do not become so absorbed in the problem that you forget the play of group tension and interaction. Try to hold yourself and your fellow members "in good operating condition."

I do not know about the reader, but I have a meeting of the zoning board at four o'clock tomorrow afternoon, and I shall take this whole tool kit right along with me.

## Notes on Political Behavior

Albert Einstein was once asked, at a meeting in Princeton. "Dr. Einstein, why is it that when the mind of man has stretched so far as to discover the structure of the atom we have been unable to devise the political means to keep the atom from destroying us?"<sup>1</sup>

To which the great scientist replied. "That is simple, my friend. It is because politics is more difficult than physics."

Political science, like economics, has many brilliant names on its roster—Aristotle, Marcus Aurelius, Machiavelli. Its large general theories, however, again as in economics, lack adequate verification. The study has been a curious amalgam of philosophy, history, polemics, brilliant prose, common sense, and primitive psychological assumptions. Only lately has there been added a good deal of hard-headed observation, and the beginning of some verifiable theory. Like economics, political science badly needs help from the sciences of behavior. *Who Gets What, When, How?* as Harold Lasswell subtitles his stimulating book on politics, is obviously oriented in this direction.

The political columnist, Gerald Johnson, gives us an example of shrewd psychological observation when he says: "A professional politician may be secondarily a Democrat or a Republican, but he is primarily a professional. His function, as he understands it, is to give the people what they want, and he will supply crass reaction, or creeping socialism, with the complete indif-

<sup>1</sup> Reported in a letter by Grenville Clark to *The New York Times*, April 20, 1955.

ference of a haberdasher handing out blue shirts or white, according to the customer's demand."<sup>2</sup>

### HIGH TALK ABOUT INEVITABILITY

Some political scientists employ a literary style which carries a special ring of doom. They speak of the "implacability," the "inevitability," and the "remorseless processes," of history, and do not hesitate to chart its predestined course. The career of James Burnham, for instance, shows us how a skillful political writer, equipped with plenty of gloomy foreboding and a forensic vocabulary, may range unchecked over the field. In physics he would hardly get to first base.

In 1941 Burnham published a book called *The Managerial Revolution*, which extrapolated the theory of Berle and Means about the shift in corporate control from owners to managers, and made considerable sense. Its central thesis has been amply vindicated. Along with this solid contribution, however, Burnham has given us a number of predictions, mostly doleful, which have not been vindicated by events. What he announced as "inevitable" at a particular time, later lost its inevitability, to be succeeded by a new inevitable. His score card, according to Lewis Corey, runs like this:<sup>3</sup>

1. In the 1930's Burnham thought the Trotskyite revolution was inevitable. The Stalinites would be overthrown; 100 percent wrong.
2. In 1941 the managerial revolution was inevitable, true up to a certain point.
3. A little later the victory of Germany was inevitable; 100 percent wrong.
4. After the war, said Burnham, three superstates will dominate the world—Germany, Japan, and the United States. Mark him 33 percent
5. After the war, again, the U.S.S.R. will inevitably break up and be swallowed by Germany on one side, and Japan on the other; 100 percent wrong.

<sup>2</sup> *New Republic*, November 18, 1954.

<sup>3</sup> *Antioch Review*, Summer, 1947.

6. The 1940, or at the very best, the 1944 United States elections will inevitably be the last free elections. Well, we have had a number since then, free and flamboyant as usual.
7. By 1947 it became inevitable to Mr. Burnham that Number 5 was wrong, and that war with the U.S.S.R. was inevitable.

He may be right on Number 7, but it is the purest speculation. Political speculation is entirely legitimate provided one posts it as such. Posted as the truth, inevitable as Halley's Comet, it is dangerous stuff. If war with the U.S.S.R. were inevitable, readers of Mr. Burnham might conclude the sooner we began it the better.

### THE GREAT SOCIETY

We have encountered many examples of political behavior earlier in this book—in the relocation camp at Poston,<sup>4</sup> the Middletown studies, opinion research, Puerto Rico, in much of the economics section. Economics used to be known as "political economy," a term which recognized that the two disciplines overlap. As part of the concept of culture, we remember the cardinal distinction between formal and informal government. The first carries the written laws, the latter carries the ultimate sanction of what is permissible in the society.

Mass production and the machine are largely responsible for the rapid, often painful growth of formal government. They have increased the division of labor and destroyed the old self-sufficiency of the family and the small community, as in the shoe factories of Newburyport. Acute problems appear—great armies of unemployed, destitute old people, child labor, strikes, breakdowns in transportation, slums and blighted areas, juvenile delinquency, soil erosion, stream pollution—problems which individuals cannot cope with alone. Yet they must be solved if society is to go on. So big government comes in, on federal, state, and city levels, especially the first and the last.

Frederick Jackson Turner produced a famous hypothesis in

<sup>4</sup> Leighton's book is of course an important contribution to political science, as shown in the title: *The Governing of Men*.

1893, called "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Many of our culture habits, he said, can be explained only by the frontier. In the United States, with its tradition of self-help and rapid expansion, government up to 1900 tended to be loose and flexible. But by the twentieth century, it proved inadequate for its new functions, especially for coping with the great depression. Political scientists have been trying to design improvements to keep pace with the march of the machine, but they still have a long way to go before government structure is adequate to handle the demands put upon it. The old forms come down from handicraft days; George Washington never saw a railroad, let alone a power line.

To study this serious lag, the Social Science Research Council has set up various committees, and some universities have established courses in public administration. These include specialized graduate schools, and whole departments to work on administrative techniques, as in the University of California. In governing a big city, modern methods include the city manager plan, uniform accounting, city planning, public housing and slum clearance, great recreational centers like Jones Beach near New York. Outstanding technicians have come to the fore, such men as Robert Moses, Joseph McGoldrick, Luther Gulick, Louis Brownlow, and the late Claence Dykstra.

But rapidly as techniques expand, aided by such invaluable organizations as the Public Administration Clearing House, Megalopolis accumulates its problems even faster. The outlook for traffic control was never darker than it is today. Within a year or two, the way traffic jams are now multiplying, Fifth Avenue in New York, and the Loop in Chicago, will be frozen solid.<sup>5</sup> Somebody has said that if you are injured in the Loop, you can get to the nearest hospital faster in a wheelbarrow than in an ambulance.

Fresh ideas on the federal level have come from such men as Thomas Finletter, Paul Appleby, the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.—who have seen government from the inside, and

<sup>5</sup> Admittedly an extrapolation.



then generalized from first-hand experience. The President's Committee on Administrative Management, headed by Charles E. Merriam, produced some original thinking on the vast change in the office of the American presidency in recent years. Because of the pressure groups which flatten so many congressmen, only the President can now represent the whole people.

The TVA should be mentioned again as an important new development in political science. Its regional position between federal and local governments gives it many advantages, for it starts comparatively free of red tape and political vested interests. Its boundaries correspond with geographic realities better than do most of the States. Experts come from all over the world to study this new agency, to admire the towering dams, the gleaming instrument panels which control navigation, flood waters, power, as on a great organ. The TVA may be working out a new adjustment to the machine age. It may show us how businessmen, labor men, government men, professional men, can cooperate for their mutual welfare; how decentralization can be carried to the limit consistent with technology. The TVA is still treated, however, as an ideological football.

Eight states have entered into a compact to eliminate pollution in the Ohio River. Two states cooperate in the tremendous tasks of the New York Port Authority; three states try to compose their differences as to who gets what from the Colorado River—with Mexico as a fourth claimant. All such compacts require new political and administrative thinking. If the United Nations takes a further step, and begins to exercise mandates over territory now disputed, a new dimension in international politics will open.

Administrative consultants and government technicians can be aided by electronic computers, says H. M. Davis in the *Scientific American*.<sup>6</sup> The new machines can help us keep up with the machine age by flashing out statistics almost simultaneously with the event. The "curse of bigness" has been due, in part at least, to people's ignorance of what is going on over vast

<sup>6</sup> April, 1949

territories. One trouble with planning, says Davis, is that the planners cannot learn the facts rapidly enough to keep abreast of their plans. Computers can remedy this lag, and redefine "bigness" upward. "They may even offer a technical means of contributing to world peace by helping to make world government possible."

When the science of polling is refined a bit further, computers can transmit to government leaders what citizens think, and how their ideas are changing about many important political questions—such as foreign policy, disarmament, taxation, the price of wheat, proposals for an annual wage, public housing, health and vaccination programs, school buildings, traffic jams, desegregation. Elmo Roper favors this idea, but says a research agency to carry it should have a status equivalent to the United States Supreme Court—beyond political pressure. Political scientists are here presented with the nice task of designing such an agency.

Political science may be on the verge of great developments. Certainly many of the old patterns, classifications, and theories stand in urgent need of revision. John M. Gaus<sup>7</sup> has outlined a research program along this line, emphasizing the following questions:

What is a realistic foreign policy for the United States in the atomic age?

What are workable relationships between federal, regional, state, and local governments?

What are the proper relationships between executive, legislative, and judicial power today? (Some recent congressional investigations have stretched and distorted these relationships.)

What are the proper line, staff, and auxiliary relationships in government?

What is happening to the presidency? Is it moving toward some quite new status?

What does the average citizen think of his government today?

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum to Social Science Research Council.

What does he want from it? (A kind of perpetual inventory of public opinion.)

### LABORATORY IN ELMIRA

In Chapter 18 we noted how social scientists have been analyzing the voters of Elmira, New York,<sup>8</sup> using the panel method of opinion research. Some arresting new theory has come out of the charts and figures. We will describe it briefly, not as the last word on political democracy, but as an example of social science<sub>1</sub> in action, and a dramatic contrast with the polemics of Mr. Burnham.

#### CLASSICAL THEORY

The Elmira researchers quote a British writer, A. D. Lindsay: "There is always a terrible gulf between the fine and elevating theories about democracy which we read in books on political theory, and the actual facts of politics." Locke, Burke, Hobbes, Bentham, Mill, and the other great classicists wrote about politics because they wanted to change methods then in practice. Out of their observations and arguments came injunctions about how you and I, as citizens in a democracy, should behave. We have, according to the classicists, four political duties. (1) our interest in politics should be strong, (2) our knowledge of issues should be competent, (3) our political principles should be cherished and acted upon, and (4) our political behavior should be guided by reason and logic. All citizens may not be in such firm possession of these virtues as thee and me, but a majority must possess them, says classical theory, or democracy cannot survive.

How do the citizens of Elmira meet these standards? A panel of 1,000 voters, studied over a period of many months before the 1948 elections, were found to lack all four essential virtues. Their political behavior did not follow the classical theories. As a group they had little sustained interest in politics, their

<sup>8</sup> See Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, *Voting*.

knowledge of issues was rudimentary, their political principles were hard to find, beyond voting the way their fathers voted; and often they seemed to exercise their reason in reverse. In brief, the figures showed this sample of United States voters failing on all four counts. So democracy should be deadlier than the dodo.

Yet democracy in Elmira, and in America, is very much alive. How is the paradox to be explained? The scientists seek to explain it with this hypothesis: Classical theory concentrated on the *individual citizen* and neglected the social system in which the individual operated. Once the requirements of the system are brought into the analysis, it is unnecessary if not positively dangerous for the average voter to exercise all the standard virtues. Why? Because political apathy on the part of a substantial bloc of voters in America has cushioned the shock of disagreement and change. If one does not take his politics too seriously, social change is easier. The United States, we recall, has been a regular roller coaster of change, geographical, technological, cultural.

Again, if too many voters cling devotedly to fixed party principles, change will be impeded, and bitter fights more frequent. A *reductio ad absurdum* of fixed principles was found in the behavior of a small group of Puerto Rican "nationalists," who were convinced some years ago that it was their high patriotic duty to go around taking pot shots at their own governor, the United States president, and congressmen.

The Elmira research shows that most voters do have some principles, some information, some political interest, and some rationality, but not in the degree called for by the classicists. Happily for the system, voters distribute themselves along a continuum, running from *sociable man* (including many women voters)—who is bored by politics, to *political man*—who takes an intelligent interest, to *ideological man*—who is a party stalwart with rigid principles and a low boiling point. At the outer edge of the last group are characters like those Puerto Rican nationalists. If we were all ideological men, democracy would

dissolve in a cosmic Donnybrook Fair. If we were all sociable men, it would expire from lack of motivation.

In the United States we have these types in the proper proportions apparently to make the political system work. (It reminds us a little of Galbraith's theory of "countervailing power" which accounts for the working of the economic system ) "This distribution itself, with its internal checks and balances, can perform the functions, and incorporate the same values ascribed by some theorists to each individual in the system, as well as to the constitutive political institutions."

The die-hards, the apathetic, and the quick changers (mostly youngsters on the make), provide "enough consensus to hold the system together, and enough cleavage to make it move." Too much consensus would be deadening—as in Bales's problem-solving groups at the Harvard Laboratory. Too much cleavage would be destructive—as in the case of various Latin-American republics. Total politics, of course, as Lenin well knew and advocated, leads to one-party government and the monolithic state, the opposition is banished or shot. Total apathy could lead to authoritarianism too, as the man on horseback rides in to fill the political vacuum.

The Elmira studies indicate that American voters have found a happy medium, a kind of mulch in which political democracy can grow. If the hypothesis of these scientists stands up, it may well revolutionize our ideas about democracy, and be one of the few substantial additions to democratic theory since the close of the eighteenth century.

## Learning Things

Granted that most of our habits come from the culture, how did we learn them? The anthropologists toss this fundamental question to the psychologists, and some of them have accepted the challenge. Practically all agree that it is in the first few years of life that we acquire the basic habits which distinguish one culture from another; which enable us to live with our families and neighbors, communicate with them, and thus go on learning. A child becomes "socialized," or "acculturated," as his nervous system is trained in innumerable unconscious routines. How are we to explain even the simplest of these habits?

The Institute of Human Relations at Yale, backed by many experiments over a long period of years, ventures an explanation. John Dollard and Neal Miller, working with others, including the late C. L. Hull, have formulated and tested a hypothesis which they call "learning theory." They have written two books about it, the first, now a classic, called *Social Learning and Imitation*, the second, which restates the theory and applies it widely, called *Personality and Psychotherapy*.

### MONKEYS AND RATS

I visited the authors at New Haven to see some of their experiments. The first exhibit was a small, brown-eyed monkey. He crouched in the back of a cage about three feet square, while the man with the notebook turned the page to trial number 873. The man touched a switch and a bell rang sharply. In one sweeping movement the monkey leaped to the front

of the cage, thrust a hand through the bars, and pulled the lever of a small box with a light in it. As he did so the bell stopped ringing and the light went out. He looked up at us with his sad eyes, relieved that the noise had ceased but still worried. He stretched a long finger through the bars again as though to say: "I hope the damn thing is really off." Then he turned around, leaped to the back of his cage, and crouched there again to wait for trial number 874.

The bottom of the cage was made of metal strips capable of giving a mild electric shock. After repeated exposure the monkey had learned to pull the lever to stop the current. Then the shock had been associated by the experimenters, first with the light in the box, next with the bell, on the best Pavlov principles of conditioned reflex. Now without getting an electric shock at all, only an emotional one, the sad monkey pulled the lever to stop the bell.

Next I saw a documentary movie about two white rats and how they learned things—a film that compared favorably with a Walt Disney production. One rat was very hungry, the other not. They were placed in identical cages side by side. The camera would focus first on one cage, then on the other. An ingenious mechanism attached to the cage deposited a pellet of food in a dish whenever a metal bar was depressed.

The hungry rat with quick, eager movements explores his cage for possible food. About the fifth time around, he hits the bar by accident, and down comes a pellet. He gobbles it but makes no connection between cause and effect. Round and round the cage he goes, with now and again another accidental reward. Then light begins to dawn—the bar! At first he presses it deliberately but awkwardly, gradually performs more swiftly and surely, until in the end he does it as nonchalantly as Groucho Marx lights a cigar.

Meanwhile, the well-fed rat continues to digest ruminatively in a corner of the other cage, taking no interest whatever in his slot machine. Unfortunately for him, however, his cage is equipped with a shockable bottom like the mournful monkey's.

A shock is applied and the rat, for all his satiation, leaps to the top of his cage. Then ensues a sort of super-Disney ballet, in the course of which he accidentally hits the bar and shuts off the power.

More shocks are given, resulting in more wild dances and more accidental collisions. Presently rat Number Two learns to associate depressing the lever with a reward—not food, but relief from annoying sensations in the soles of his feet. Furthermore—and this is important—he learns more rapidly than rat Number One learned about food. The pain drive is more powerful than the hunger drive—at least for those white rats under those conditions.

### LEARNING THEORY

What lesson have we here? According to Dollard and Miller, the process of learning in the case of the higher mammals, including man, normally proceeds in four steps:

1. A drive—such as hunger or pain, which makes the individual ready for action.
2. A cue—such as the metal bar.
3. A response—such as pulling the bar.
4. A reward or reinforcement—such as food, or relief from electric shock.

After a stiff shot of theory on the learning process in New Haven, I drive home and try it on our cat. Did you ever teach a cat to sit up and beg? The four steps are conspicuous in this act of learning. The drive is hunger. The cue is a piece of meat held well above the cat's head. The first response is an eager reaching, but the reward must not be given until the animal sits erect on its haunches, paws hanging down. I taught Boots in twenty minutes flat—though I admit that he is a smarter cat than most—and he now sits up politely for anything he wants—dinner, a drink of water, to go out of doors, to have somebody play with him.

"After learning has been completed, response and cue are



bound together in such a way that the appearance of the cue evokes the response. . . . The conditions under which human learning takes place . . . are primarily social and cultural. . . ." If the reward is not forthcoming, the response gradually suffers extinction. The reward, as we have seen, can be either positive or negative—pleasure, or relief from pain.

The theory is derived from Pavlov, Thorndike, Watson, and Hull. On human levels the theory has been verified by many experiments with children, students, soldiers. Here is one of Dollard and Miller's simple experiments which you can repeat with a six-year-old.

#### CANDY EXPERIMENT

Hide a piece of candy under a book on a bookshelf. Bring the youngster into the room—making sure he is hungry—and tell him to look under the books and find the candy. Then count the books he picks up and keep track of the time. He may take three or four minutes to find the candy, after moving thirty or forty books.

Now send him out of the room again, hide another piece of candy under the same book, call him back as before. He is likely to find this piece within two minutes. Try again and he will get it in less than a minute and, after some ten trials, he will go at once to the right book and find the candy in about two seconds.

You can chart the curve of this learning, either by time or the count of books, and you will find that it starts on a high level at the upper left and descends steeply toward the lower right of the chart. Analyzing it for the four elements, it is clear that the drive was the child's desire for candy; the cue, instructing him where to look for it, the response, searching the bookshelf; the reward, eating the candy.

In more mature learning, of course, the drives become more subtle and remote, the cues more complex. The reward, often deferred, may be a word of approval, the hope of a promotion, even a private feeling of satisfaction. When human reasoning

and foresight are interpreted in these four steps, the theory can be widened to include most forms of human behavior. A whole chain of responses may take place inside one's mind, each one becoming the cue to start the next.

The public cue-producing responses, like words and sentences, that are used in social communication receive an enormous amount of social training. The accumulated cultural heritage of generations of trial and error is represented in the categories, common-sense rules of logic, standards of reasonableness, and sequences of orderly narration of language. This greatly increases the usefulness of verbal responses and their derivatives, such as mathematics, in the solution of social, emotional, and instrumental problems.<sup>1</sup>

Behavior in controlled situations can be predicted, even quantitatively predicted—for instance, the number of trials needed to teach a subject a simple lesson, like a set of nonsense syllables. At higher levels, in situations which are really complicated, the scientists cite many cases on which the theory throws light. Meanwhile they realize that much research remains to be done. Miller and Dollard, like good scientists, are willing to take the hard, gruelling path to knowledge, the path of measurement and counting and endless repetition of experiment—the same path the physicists took for so many decades before the clouds suddenly opened.

Meanwhile, parts of the theory can be usefully applied in innumerable ways: for instance, to simplify and improve teaching in school, to help interpret and explain the habits of an individual or even a culture, to win friends and influence people for business, advertising, social, or political reasons; to help people analyze and overcome their neurotic problems.

Like all scientific findings, learning theory has been challenged. Some critics complain that the parallels between animal and human learning have been pressed too far; again, that not all four steps are present in every case—that is, some learning may take place in the absence of either drive or reinforcement; and again, that in the perennial argument of nature versus nurture,

<sup>1</sup>Dollard and Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy*

this theory, like others of the behaviorist psychologists, tends to overemphasize nurture.

### HEREDITY PLUS ENVIRONMENT

Well, how about nature versus nurture? Probably no scientist today would admit a bias in favor of either heredity or environment, since the importance of both has been so clearly demonstrated. Yet the argument continues in a different form. Perhaps as clear a statement as any of how the two forces interact appears in a study by Norman Cameron of the University of Wisconsin, *The Psychology of Behavior Disorders: A Biosocial Interpretation*. Dr. Cameron is a specialist in both psychology and psychiatry who believes that personality is developed by the interweaving of physiology with training. Every culture, he says, is built to an unrealized extent around the biological needs for food, shelter, mating, and parenthood, all of which are satisfied—or denied—in a *social situation*. The baby cannot eat without help, or keep himself warm or clean, so his comfort or discomfort is connected at every stage with an older person on whom he depends. Thus physical and emotional habits grow together, as one “grows from a biological newborn to a biosocial adult in an environment of other individuals and cultural products. . . . It is always this interplay of biology and society.” Thus Cameron explains the connection among individual structure, drive, and learning, in developing the total personality. Nature and nurture are woven tightly together.

### CODE FOR PSYCHOLOGISTS

Psychology is easily the most discussed of all the social sciences, far outdistancing economics, its nearest rival. The word “psychology” is bandied about by most of us quite irresponsibly, along with tags and phrases from popular psychology. Big-time baseball players, prize fighters, taxi drivers, salesmen, tycoons, labor leaders, as well as college graduates, claim a working knowledge of its principles: “I used psychology on

him, and he signed up" . . . "She's got an inferiority complex" . . . "Bad case of Oedipus." And "Too much unsound speculative psychology in the stock market" came over my radio from a financial expert this morning.

The growing interest in psychology has of course increased the number of "psychologists," including a considerable group of gentlemen—and some ladies—who harbor no objections to turning a fast buck. Anybody with a penetrating gaze and a command of the lingo could hang out his shingle and line up the customers. But as our visit to New Haven makes clear, psychology in the hands of honest investigators is a rigorous and demanding science. By the time the student has won his Ph.D., he may have spent as many years as a medical man in rigorous training. Also he is painfully aware of how many questions of human behavior are still unanswered.

The American Psychological Association has boldly attacked this problem. It has set up a code of ethics to stiffen the profession, and to protect the person in need of psychological counsel from half-trained "doctors" and outright quacks. Thus it follows the lead of the Bar Association, the medical societies, and the Certified Public Accountants, in putting an official stamp on accredited professionals.

The making of the code was a kind of polling operation. Instead of sitting down and thinking about ethical behavior, the Association asked its 12,000 members to describe ethical problems arising from their personal experience. More than 2,000 replies were received, and cases were classified six ways: ethical behavior (1) toward the public, (2) toward clients, (3) toward other psychologists, (4) toward students, (5) in research work, (6) in writing. A code covering all these matters was officially adopted in 1953. Prospective clients might do well to find out if the counselor they select is a member of the Association and bound by the code.

Here is one of the problems sent in: A famous feature writer visits a clinic to get a story on juvenile delinquency. A psychologist on the staff uses a hypothetical case to illustrate the

clinic's work. The writer seizes on the case, and writes it up as true, with a sensational twist, as the lead for his story. The psychologist objects, and the journalist hits the ceiling. On appeal, the trustees of the clinic think the psychologist ought to play along. "It's good publicity," they say.

*What should the psychologist do?* The Code indicates clearly that he should refuse to cooperate with the journalist, however fine the publicity. "The psychologist may be expected to offer every assistance to reputable reporters, but he may refuse to give materials to a reporter who does not adhere to the ethical standards of the profession."

Another case. A psychologist is retained to make a market survey for a soap company, using a questionnaire prepared by the publicity department. He complains that it contains a built-in bias for the company's soap against competitive brands "Take it or leave it," says the management. *What should the psychologist do?* The Code gives him no choice but to leave it.

Thousands of such cases are in the Association's files. They constitute a unique method of establishing professional ethics, one that can be recommended to other professions with ethical problems. Ask the members to participate in digging out the facts, classify the types of problems, and build the code on that objective base (Notice the connection between science and ethics).

F. H. Sanford, Secretary of the Association, tells us that more than half the members are now outside the universities, acting as consultants and researchers for industry, government, schools, private clients. Industrial psychology is booming. Research is progressing in aptitude testing (such as Flanagan's work in the Army, described earlier), in group therapy, in counseling methods. Many colleges provide counseling service for students worried about their grades or their personal problems. (Nowhere is social pressure more visible and acute than in the case of a student who does not make the team, or the fraternity, or the glee club—the niche in the subcultural structure which gives status and security.) By and large, psychologists give advice to

normal people, or people only normally upset; they send severe cases to psychiatrists.

The therapist or counselor, says Sanford, should establish a brotherly relationship with his client, rather than the fatherly role of most doctors and lawyers. The client states his problem, and the doctor or lawyer fixes it for him (or tries to), speaking a special language, keeping his distance. Not so the good psychologist. His task is to listen, talk out, advise, set forth alternatives, *but not to take command and fix*. Human behavior problems "by their nature must be solved by the human beings who have them." The wise psychologist helps people solve their own problems.

Industrial psychologists, Sanford observes, should not make the administrator's decision for him. "That's his job, not yours." (Remember how Leighton waited at Poston, while the administrator, looking out at the desert in the fading light, decided not to call in the Army.) A psychologist often makes a good administrator, but in this role he becomes an ex-psychologist.

A psychologist addressing a meeting, he continues, should also avoid the fatherly approach. Do not talk *down* to the Parent-Teacher Association, talk *with* them. Do not imply that "technical knowledge is only for experts, and that parents, if they had it, would only use it to clobber up the already miserable job they are doing with their children." Give parents new hypotheses, new facts, new ways of testing old ideas, alternative courses. The children are theirs, not yours.

Mr. Sanford adds this somber warning, during a time of many attacks on academic freedom and traditional American liberties:<sup>2</sup>

Societies that become sick . . . restrict first the psychological and social sciences. Individuals who have a violent neurotic need for security are noted for their hostility to knowledge about the inner workings either of personality or of institutions. . . . Only those societies characterized by considerable maturity will tolerate at all those individuals who have new and boat-rocking ideas about

<sup>2</sup> Address at Houston University, April, 1954.

human behavior. . . . Psychologists must do all they can to see that knowledge is available for the solution of human problems. But if psychologists are ever perceived as using their knowledge to impose any sort of control over society . . . they will be the targets of great and deserved hostility.

Perhaps the most important item in the Code of Ethics lies right here.

Social psychology, like economics, appears in many places throughout this book. Chapter 6 is almost nothing else. The present chapter has not attempted to summarize modern social psychology, but to pick up some interesting theoretic material, experiments, and cases, to add to what has gone before.

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## The Communication Sciences

"Much vain disquiet maketh mankind," said the Psalmist—long before singing commercials, broadcasting from airplanes, and mass communications generally, had made the disquiet a good deal vainer.

Every case we have discussed, and every generalization drawn, is also an exercise in communication. Those students who first observed the case received a communication and recorded it. They used language, perhaps the language of mathematics, sometimes maps or photographs as well. Next I, the author, had to study what the observer reported (or what I myself had seen), and then communicate what I found to you, the reader of this book. The line could be broken or distorted between event and observer, between observer and me, between me and you. Communication is almost as pervading as the air we breathe, and often as unnoticed.

Animals, of course, communicate in many ways, mostly by making sounds. Parrots can even imitate the sound of words. But only man has true language. Evolving through the culture, first as talk, and only lately—in the last 5,000 years or so—as writing, language is the most human of all our characteristics, and many scientists think it the most important. Science, literature, abstract thought, logic and reason would be impossible without words.

Yet, at the same time, words can compound misunderstanding and generate needless conflict. Organized warfare would be impossible without language, and so would the savage disagree-



ments about race, religion, and ideologies. We have been given this power, and have proceeded to foul it up. A major goal of the communication sciences is to find out how language works and if possible abate some of its misuse.

The power of words comes home to me as I compare what you and I know, with what Boots my cat knows. His universe consists of the house and the land around it—perhaps three square miles of lawn, garden, orchard, swamp, pasture, and woodland, mostly belonging to the neighbors. He knows the detail of this area better than I do, especially the habits of field mice, he could survive in it during a blizzard as I, without human shelter, might not. He knows the environment which he sees, hears, smells, feels—and *that is all he knows*. He has no means of relating this experience to wider environments in the same town, to environments beyond that in the State and nation, and beyond that to the spinning planet on which we live, and beyond that to the solar system and the galaxies whose light may take a score of light-years to reach us.

Looking inward again, he has no knowledge of the processes in his own body, or the cells which compose it, or the molecules within the cells, or the atoms which nobody will ever see, or the electrons and the packed nuclei which compose them. Out to the almost inconceivably great, and down to the almost inconceivably small, lies knowledge which we humans may master, chiefly because of our command of words.

Language has been taken too much for granted, but we can now report important progress toward understanding this gift so useful and so dangerous. Many, if not most, of the political and social problems which plague us today are at bottom communication failures. Take for instance the big words in the headlines—"aggression," "appeasement," "coexistence," "socialized medicine," "free enterprise," "liberty," "security," "bureaucracy," "welfare state." It is not difficult to prove, using the discipline of semantics, that such high abstractions mean different things to different people, and unless great caution is taken in using them, they become not only meaningless as coin for

common understanding, but actively productive of misunderstanding.

Among current problems which are in good part communication failure are the true menace of communism, international relations, labor-management conflicts, advertising misrepresentation. Much of the trouble between man and wife, parent and child, teacher and student, is due to communication breakdown. "Talking it out" might have repaired the line before a small grievance developed into a monstrous injustice. "Reasonable men," said Beardsley Ruml, "always agree if they understand what they are talking about."

Elton Mayo, in *Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, observes.

I believe that social study should begin with careful observation of what may be described as communication, that is, the capacity of an individual to communicate his feelings and ideas to another, the capacity of groups to communicate effectively and intimately to each other. This problem is beyond all reasonable doubt the outstanding defect that civilization is facing today. . . . Our international troubles are unquestionably due to the fact that effective communication between different national groups was not accomplished. . . . On the contrary, an effort was often made to "find a formula," a logical statement which should conceal the fact that neither side had any insight into the actual situation of the other. . .

As Mayo develops it, communication is like the circulation of the blood—the free flow of ideas through structured channels *within* groups of all sizes, and *between* groups, up to nations, to the great alliances, to the United Nations. Communication depends at the lowest cycle on the articulateness of individuals; next on the functioning of small groups where individuals express their needs and desires, and where the expressions are passed upward to the next cycle, and so on. Such flexible communication, helped by the mass media, could respond sensitively to an appeal from the grass roots, from the little people who want peace and reasonable security. It could—but so far it does not.

Education, science, human progress depend on expressing an idea clearly and being understood by one's fellows. As Edward Sapir puts it:

While we often speak of society as if it were a static structure . . . it is a highly intricate network of partial or complete understandings between the members of organizational units of every degree of size and complexity, ranging from a pair of lovers to a league of nations, or that ever-increasing portion of humanity which can be reached by the press. . . .<sup>1</sup>

"A network of partial or complete understandings." This is as good a definition of communication as we are likely to find, as well as a dynamic definition of society itself. It suggests that *relations* between people, in patterns that are active and changing, are the important thing. Sapir goes on to point out the three main techniques of human communication: (1) languages; (2) symbols in special technical situations—such as wigwagging at sea, bugle calls, smoke signals, and other wordless devices; and (3) inventions favorable to communication, such as the telegraph, telephone, radio, airplane

Through these techniques a given culture is spread. It is due to the third, mechanical invention, that the culture called Western civilization has overrun a large part of the globe. But its very speed has produced serious difficulties at every stage. In an individual, blocked communication may be a major cause of mental breakdown. In a group it may cause conflicts of any degree of violence up to atomic warfare.

This new urgency is one reason for the present vogue of communication about communication, and another reason is the expansion of the mass media. We are all being constantly attacked by messages in ever-growing volume, and we need screening and translating devices, as well as sufficient skill to hold our own in the babel. So in various universities we find departments for the study of communication, which include everything from public speaking to electronics engineering. We

<sup>1</sup>In *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*

find great national societies, and new scholarly magazines. Valuable research is being done, not only in universities but by consulting firms. Without attempting to do justice to all this useful work I will try to classify briefly the most active sections of the field.<sup>2</sup>

### TWELVE DISCIPLINES

It would not be too much to say that every serious study known to man is wrestling with communication, but 12 of them are now particularly concerned with it; four of them full time, eight part time. The 12 cut across that shadowy boundary between natural and social science, for three—physics, cybernetics, and neurology—are classed with the natural sciences. We cannot do much more than list them here with a few comments, reserving for semantics a somewhat closer preview. Semantics is a study with which I, as a writer, have long been concerned. A short, useful definition is that semantics is “the systematic study of meaning.”

#### 1. *The Communication Engineers and Cybernetics*

The Bell Laboratories in New York are doing fundamental research into the theory of communication today. It is strictly within the field of natural science, being more concerned with the fidelity of the transmission of messages than with their meaning. But the sciences concerned with meaning also depend in part for their future development on a brilliant analysis by Claude Shannon and his staff. The Telephone Company puts the findings to work in expanding the dial system.

Every message, they say, whether by sounds, words, flashes, flags, gestures, wires, wireless, begins with an *information source*. From this a *signal* in the form of light waves, sound waves, radio waves, is sent out over some kind of transmitter, to be picked up by the *receiving mechanism*. There the message is *decoded* and passed on to its destination. At any point, “noise,” as the

<sup>2</sup> In the *Tyranny of Words* and *Power of Words*, I have reported at greater length.

engineers call it, may get in to distort the signal. "Noise is universal and insidious"—such things as static, fading, "snow" in television. The engineers' goal is to get the message through with a minimum of "noise." They do not yet care what the message is, it can be dots, dashes, music, pictures, letters, nonsense phrases.

Now let us move to another level. The word "cybernetics" was coined by Norbert Wiener, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, from a Greek root meaning *pilot* or *governor*; and he defines it as "a study of messages which control action." Cybernetics has to do with the theory and design of electronic computing machines, those uncanny robots like the famous "Univac," "Eniac," and their kin. I once compared my rate of multiplying four-digit numbers with that of "Number 701," an electronic computer designed by International Business Machines. It did not take long to determine that he was 100,000 times a better man than I!

Computers send messages which control action like the human brain. Like the brain, a computer has a memory system—Number 701 indeed has *three* memory systems. As they build computers for more complicated tasks—say operating an oil refinery, or guiding a Nike, or figuring out the weather a month in advance—the engineers increase our knowledge of how the human brain and nervous system work to encode and decode messages.

## 2 *The Neurologists and the Physiologists*

These scientists study the impact of signals on the retina or the eardrum, follow their course to the brain, then the corresponding signals sent out by the brain to the muscles for action. Take such a simple case as the light waves coming to you from a car that is veering over to your side of the road, the decoding of the signal in your mind, and the action of your hands on the wheel and your foot on the brake. If you do not interpret the message correctly and rapidly there will be a crash.

The whole process inside us is deeply buried and very com-

plicated, but it is obviously cardinal for understanding communication.

### 3. *Perception Theory*

Now we go over the line to the social sciences. A school of psychologists, headed by Hadley Cantril of Princeton, is investigating how we perceive things: how we know that a rose is a rose, or a chair is a chair. They use elaborate apparatus, invented by the late Adelbert Ames of Hanover, and since extended and improved. One comes away from a morning in their laboratories slightly seasick, because of what his eyes, his nerve channels, and brain have experienced.

Unless we have had experience we cannot know. We never see *all* of an event out there—say an object like a chair—only enough to deal with it. We “bet,” in the light of past experience, that it is a chair. An Eskimo who has never seen or used a chair would have nothing to bet on. One reason for becoming seasick is that a perfectly good chair, as seen from one angle in the laboratory, turns out from another angle to be nothing but a flimsy arrangement of sticks and wires. The relativity of perception is thus impressively demonstrated to the somewhat disorganized observer, and new light is thrown on the connection between words and things.

### 4. *Animal Psychology*

These studies include communication among animals, and also from animals to human beings. Dogs are more eloquent than cats in sending messages to people, while insects apparently don't give a damn. Bees have a mysterious and complicated message system of their own, in the form of an oriented dance. A scout returns and tells the hive where to find a good haul of nectar. He can pinpoint it, says von Frisch, up to two miles from the hive. Studies of higher animals, especially chimpanzees, throw side lights on human communication, and along with startling parallels, emphasize the gulf which separates man from his fellow creatures.

### 5. *Child Psychology*

A baby arrives with a cry but it is wordless. He has a fear response, but no true perceptions, for lack of experience on which to base them. Naturally he has no stock of words. He sets about collecting experience immediately, and by about eighteen months he has enough memories stashed away to begin verbalizing. Then for several years his tongue, mouth, larynx, and thorax develop at a furious rate; the drive to talk is on him. He talks with his whole body. Some five-year-olds have been clocked at 35,000 running words a day—not of course all different, but all running.

At an early age, the experts say, normal children in all cultures have mastered the structure of their language. Here is an illustration. Take three words in English: Man, Bear, Kill. These three words can be arranged—or structured—in six different ways, two of them meaningless, and two which mean something dramatically different from the remaining two. Thus:

KILL MAN BEAR means nothing as written.<sup>3</sup>

KILL BEAR MAN means nothing as written.

MAN KILL BEAR and

MAN BEAR KILL means the same satisfactory act.

BEAR KILL MAN and

BEAR MAN KILL mean the same disastrous act.

Junior at three has probably mastered such structural distinctions—a remarkable accomplishment when one stops to think about it—and at six he talks in fairly complex sentences.

### 6 *The Culture Concept*

Junior learns his language from the culture, and social scientists say that language is the most important part of any culture. Any two cultures, furthermore, will have cardinal problems of mutual understanding. A joke in one culture, for instance, may be a deadly insult in another.

<sup>3</sup> Spoken and accented you might make something out of it. See C. C. Fries, *The Structure of English*. Harcourt, Brace, 1952.

### 7. *Linguistics*

These scientists are very useful on any field expedition. They collect the sounds of a native language and arrange them into patterns. Presently they can describe and predict the basic phonetic structure. They are less interested in writing than in speaking, while grammar as traditionally taught fills them with alarm. It is not improbable that the linguists are on the way to revolutionizing the study of grammar—an idea which most high school students will be able to take in their stride.

Linguists are concerned not with how things *ought* to be said, but how they are in fact said. They are also concerned with nonverbal communication in the form of gestures and facial expressions—a subsience called *Kinesics*. They tell us that while certain tribes may be living under conditions which we call primitive, there are no primitive languages. The tongue of the Australian aborigines—who are about as “primitive” as they come—is more complicated than English. Eskimo has more than 20 words for *snow*—something any skier can appreciate.

### 8. *Metalinguistics*

According to Benjamin Lee Whorf, the language we learn tends to control our thinking. In Chapter 10 we illustrated the idea by comparing cultures in the Southwest. In English the clock *runs*, but in Spanish *he walks*. This results in an important difference between the time sense of Anglos and Mexicans, and serious trouble in the practice of medicine. Indo-European languages tend toward black-or-white thinking, while the Chinese language tends toward multivalued thinking, which considers shades of gray. The Hopi language, says Whorf, makes it easier to understand the idea of relativity, with time as a fourth dimension.

### 9. *Modern Physics*

Until physicists cleared up their communication they could not tell each other what they had discovered. Every large new



advance, especially the theory of relativity, brought a communication crisis. Percy Bridgman, a Nobel prize winner, has ably documented this story in *The Logic of Modern Physics*. New language has been developed by the physicists in mathematics, multivalued logic, operational definitions, probability theory, statistics of aggregates, theory of types. These languages are international, understood as readily in Tokyo or New Delhi as in Pasadena. The operational definition is especially useful to the student of communication. It gives him a verbal screening machine to eliminate meaningless or unanswerable questions. "Is space bounded?" "Can time have a beginning and an end?" are such questions

#### 10. *Group Dynamics*

Scientists here are intimately concerned with the relationships inside face-to-face groups, as described in Chapter 23. Much of that relationship takes the form of communication, both by words and by *Kinesics*—the reinforcement of words through gesture. When a member, for instance, leans back in his chair and carefully folds his arms, the message can usually be decoded as, "I won't budge from my position!"

Some of the group analysts are investigating *listening*, the reception and decoding of messages. They are experimenting with listening clinics, with labor-management groups listening to the reading of a contract, and with college students—who, according to some experiments, hear only about twenty-five percent of what the lecturer says.

#### 11 and 12. *Semantics and General Semantics*

These two closely connected disciplines may well merge in the years ahead. Semantics has been around since the turn of the century, when a book by Lady Viola Welby, *What Is Meaning?* first brought it to public attention. In 1921, C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards published their classic study *The Meaning of Meaning*, and gave us the useful advice. "Find the

referent"—meaning find the thing in the space-time world to which an abstract term refers.

Take, for instance, such a term as "liberty." Floating up there in the stratosphere, it can mean all things to all men. Ogden and Richards would bring it down to earth by asking, *liberty to do what?* "Your liberty to swing your arms," a great jurist is reputed to have said, "ends where my nose begins." "Liberty," like "freedom," "democracy," and "justice" is only a vague sentiment, amiable or quarrelsome, until a referent is found where the idea can be put to work—liberty to criticize the government, freedom to travel, democracy in elections with secret ballot, the justice of letting an accused person cross-examine his accusers, and so on. Political speeches are normally studded with lofty terms which do not have a referent in a carload. Committees of the United Nations have been trying for two years, without success, to define "aggression." They can try for 200 years with no better luck, unless they start with referents and build cautious generalizations from there.

In 1933, Alfred Korzybski, a Polish-American, published *Science and Sanity*, and inaugurated the school of *General Semantics*. It differed from mere semantics in leaning more heavily on mathematics, relativity, neurology, and psychology. Most of us, said Korzybski, are "unsane," in the sense that we scramble communication, and waste time arguing about little men who are not there. Beyond this normal unsanity, there are cases of real mental breakdown which General Semantics can help repair. The first big test came when Dr. Douglas M. Kelley, psychiatrist, tried using General Semantics in treating some 7,000 cases of battle shock in World War II. His hospital in Belgium returned 96 percent of its patients to their units, cured. It should be pointed out, however, that while semantic treatment undoubtedly helped, it was not the only therapy employed.<sup>4</sup>

Korzybski not only analyzed language from a fresh point of view, but suggested ways to make its use more precise, and

<sup>4</sup> This experiment is described at more length in *Power of Words*.

enable people to think straighter. One useful suggestion is never to forget that *a map is not the territory*. Language, he said, is the map, and the territory is a real event, out there beyond our heads. If the structure of the map agrees with the structure of the territory—if north and south are in the same relative positions—we can use the map to traverse the territory. But if our road map shows Toledo west of Chicago, and we want to drive to Toledo, we are in trouble. Korzybski tried to bring language maps closer to space-time territory.

### ROAD BLOCKS

At least a dozen road blocks can break the communication line, among them.

1. Confusing words with things. Believing that the map is really the territory, or controls the territory. Say the right words and your enemy will get the pox, or in the modern version, sell the label and never mind what's in the package.

2. Failing to check abstract terms with concrete events. As in the careless use of "liberty," "aggression," and the like.

3. Confusing facts with inferences, with opinions, or value judgments. Most people do not know the difference; they say, "It's a fact that I think she is not as virtuous as she should be."

4. False identifications. We have been treated to a whole-sale demonstration of this road block in accusations of guilt-by-association. Reduced to a syllogism these take the form:

President Eisenhower once had meetings with Russian General Zhukoff.

Zhukoff is a Communist.

Therefore Eisenhower is a Communist.

Ridiculous! you cry, and you are right, of course it is ridiculous. But millions of Americans have not learned to avoid this kind of semantic confusion.

5. Thinking in terms of either-or, black-or-white, those who are not with us are against us. If Prime Minister Nehru of India is a so-called "neutralist," he is not with us, and therefore must be in the enemy camp. Isn't it serious enough to

have real Communists against us from Leningrad to Shanghai, without taking on the whole neutralist world?

Other roadblocks to clear communication include the use of gobbledygook, failure to appraise motives, failure to consider major characteristics before passing judgment, and so on.

Enough has been sketched to show that the communication sciences not only are hard at work, but are beginning to form an interlocking front. With every advance the science of man gains strength and direction.

In lighter vein we might end this chapter with another illustration of communication failure<sup>5</sup>

"Mrs Lee, do you think women are better housewives than they used to be?"

"Which women?"

"Which women? Why, any women."

"But I don't know 'any women.' I only know certain women."

"Well, then, the women you know. Are they better housewives than they used to be?"

"In the first place, I don't know what they used to be. In the second place, I don't know what you mean by 'better housewives.' Do you mean, do their draperies match their slip covers? Do you mean, do they compare prices before they buy? Do you mean, do they cook vegetables without destroying the vitamins?"

"Why, yes, we mean all those things."

"But I can't answer all those things at once."

"Well, then, answer one of them. Let's say, do the women you know cook vegetables without destroying the vitamins?"

"I couldn't say. I've never tested their vegetables for vitamins. Wouldn't know how to."

"Well, just give us your opinion, Mrs. Lee"

"What good is my opinion? That isn't a matter of opinion;

<sup>5</sup> An imaginary interview by Mrs. Irving Lee, after she had listened to a radio quiz program sponsored by a food manufacturer of "Fluffy Duff."

it's a matter of fact. The only way I can answer that question is to go and test their vegetables."

"But can't you just make a guess?"

"Oh, well, if you want me simply to guess, I can do that. Yes, my guess would be that most of the women I know destroy some of the vitamin value of vegetables by cooking. But actually, of course, I don't have any way of knowing."

"So, Mrs. Lee, you maintain that women are not better housewives today than they used to be. Well, we're all entitled to our own opinions, aren't we, folks?"

"Look here, I didn't say that. I made one little guess and you puffed it up into a big generalization."

"Thank you very much, Mrs. Lee."

"Why don't you quit asking people these ambiguous questions?"

"Thank you very much, Mrs. Lee."

"And what's more, the first time I hear a sidewalk interviewer who can distinguish between statements of opinion and statements of fact, I'll buy a whole case of your Fluffy Duff."

Mrs. Lee has amused us while making a serious point. Most of us don't know what we are talking about when we climb to the level of high abstractions, and neither does anyone else. The communication sciences are trying to haul us back to the base of common understanding.

## On the Same Planet

Fitzpatrick, the great cartoonist of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, once pictured a huge bomb leaning against a wall, and beside it an equally huge question mark. Two small human figures in the foreground—they might be scientists—are looking up at the vast monoliths. The bomb is labeled, "How to Kill Everybody," and the question mark, "How to Live with Everybody." It was sketched when only the A-bomb was loose, but now with H-bombs in production, and cobalt bombs on the drawing board, the point is even more ominous.

Perhaps the choice is not quite so two-valued; perhaps there will be scattered survivors after the next World War, no one can tell. Atomic weapons, said Sir Winston Churchill in 1955, have passed "outside the scope of human control." The fall out on Eniwetok came as a surprise, and scientists no longer know what can happen, what radiation is doing and may do to forms of life on this planet. Heads of state, who use the methods of diplomacy and war which were standard before Hiroshima, are like boys playing with matches beside an open drum of gasoline.

### THERMONUCLEAR TRUCE

Sir Winston emphasized another idea which has been gaining ground, a happier idea. The very frightfulness of atomic weapons, he thinks, will tend to restrain their use. The U.S.S.R., the United States and Britain all are aware that if one side begins the assault, retaliation will be a matter of hours. The size of the stock pile makes little difference so long as there are warheads for that first flight of missiles. Realizing

that atomic attack is a form of suicide, heads of state may hesitate to launch it.

The world may now have reached a Thermonuclear Truce which could last some years. It will be an uneasy truce, for if a psychotic like Hitler should come to power, he might consider it his exalted duty to press the button. Or some local "incident" might touch it off, or some trigger-happy junior officer. A daring belligerent during the truce might gamble boldly on getting what he wanted with lesser weapons—a "brush fire" war—and lose his gamble.

But there is a chance for time, and so a chance to end the truce by something other than pillars of mushroom cloud on all the continents. Perhaps we can utilize the uneasy years to block out the forms of a durable peace, and so contrive an answer to Fitzpatrick's question Perhaps not. But all men of good will must now try

#### SOME QUESTIONS

Clearly this is the greatest test of the race since it came down from trees, stood upright, and began to talk like men. Have we stood upright long enough? Are there enough mature men and women in the world to see the shape of the present crisis? Do they see the impasse, the dilemma of power and responsibility which we face? It can sound so easy. "We have an explosive that endangers survival; why not get rid of it?" "Everyone wants peace; why not agree to establish it?" These reasonable-sounding questions have difficult and discouraging answers.

Shall we choose death because we cannot forget our quarrels? I appeal as a human being to human beings remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise, if you cannot, nothing lies before you but universal death.<sup>1</sup>

This appeal by Bertrand Russell, eloquent as it is, neglects four serious difficulties.

1. Most of us, in all cultures, cannot forget our quarrels, or "forget the rest," without some intensive training

<sup>1</sup> *Saturday Review*, April 2, 1955.

2. Most of us have little concept of our "humanity," as a generalization.
3. We have no clear concept of a new Paradise—or even an old one.
4. We cannot imagine "universal death."

To cause ordinary mortals to act requires a method beyond an appeal to reason, however eloquent. Social scientists are beginning to understand the complicated process by which new ideas get into the central nervous system, how the learning mechanism operates, and change takes place. Appeals such as Russell's may be good for the soul, but if great masses of men are to be moved, we must go deeper.

To neutralize the bomb, a psychologist has written me, social scientists must begin at the same conceptual level as the physicists did when they split the atom, avoid haste, and go to the root of the problem. This calls for scientific courage. Men who are doing fundamental research should continue it, even if they fail to see a clear application.

Certain tasks, however, are obvious, and many useful tools are ready to hand. Let us look briefly at some of them, and summarize findings described earlier. First, however, let us consider what sort of agency might assemble and use the tools. We begin by setting up a rough, preliminary structure on which to hang ideas.

#### UNITED NATIONS CLEARING HOUSE

The United Nations now has a group working on peaceful uses of atomic energy, following the popular proposal of President Eisenhower in 1953. Let us assume that this group expands to become a clearing house not only for peacetime uses of the atom, but for all serious proposals covering security and peace. It should have qualified social scientists on the staff, able to distinguish between workable plans and perpetual motion machines. Its prime objective should be to find a *modus vivendi*, a method of accommodation, a technique for negotiation, between the Great Powers.



An early task might be to analyze all international machinery now in use. The World Court, the World Bank, the Postal Union, the international weather service, the Geneva Convention, the Red Cross, epidemic controls, Olympic games, uniform weights and measures, air lines and airports, scientific congresses, religious conferences—the list of agencies which at this moment link the peoples of the world together is as impressive as it is little known. How do these agencies work? Which work best and why?

Here, for instance, is the International Whaling Control.<sup>2</sup> In 1930, representatives from 20 governments concerned with whale fisheries met at Sandefjord in Norway. They came from Britain, the U.S.S.R., Japan, the United States, South Africa, Argentina, as well as Norway. They proceeded to set up the International Whaling Convention which specified rules for the annual hunt, for ocean “sanctuaries,” for protecting various species, and a rigorous system of inspection and enforcement. In 1950 the world quota was set at 16,000 Antarctic whales of the large varieties, like the blue whale.

Inspectors of whales have the same difficult problem which inspectors of atomic weapons may some day have: they must develop a double loyalty—to the International Convention, and to their own national fleet. There is some poaching, but to date the system is working well. Everyone agrees that without it the whaling industry would have destroyed itself through national competition. All the valuable kinds of whales would have become extinct. An interesting parallel for study.

#### SOME PROBLEMS IN DISARMAMENT

Conference after international conference has come to a deadlock on the issue of nuclear test inspection—though one reason for beginning here was the apparent simplicity and desirability of such a measure. Disarmament clearly presents many other tough problems—existing stockpiles, for instance, biological and chemical weapons, economic substitutes for arms production.

<sup>2</sup> See R. B. Robertson, *Of Whales and Men*, Knopf, 1954

In essence, we need a method for allaying fear. The United States is afraid of U.S.S.R. conquering the world, waving the banner of communism. (In 1940 we were afraid of Hitler conquering the world, waving the banner of fascism.) The Russians are afraid of the West overrunning the homeland, remembering what Hitler did on his march to Stalingrad, and what Western armies did on Russian frontiers after World War I. The Germans are afraid of the U.S.S.R., the French are afraid of Germany, the Chinese are afraid of a rearmcd Japan. If these fears could be reduced, nations would be more ready to sit down around a table.

World peace must also rest on a modicum of economic security. The vast new potential of atomic energy can be used to increase standards of living. Atomic power, isotopes, irrigation of dry areas with sea water desalted by atomic heat, other engineering miracles, are already on the horizon. Energy in one form or another—from slave power to fuel oil—has always laid the base for a civilization. Now we are developing a wholly new energy base for a planetary civilization. Control agencies must be concerned with building things, not just with stopping things. The enterprise must appeal to the idealism of young people, as well as to the common sense of their elders.

#### CULTURE CONCEPT AGAIN

Every control agency and negotiating group will of course need the culture concept as a guide. Unless leaders understand the universal characteristics which all men share, permanent peace is inconceivable, and temporary machinery very difficult to install.

As things are now, chiefs of state, foreign ministers, war departments, must predict behavior in other countries, friendly and unfriendly, every day. If officials predict that certain nations will not live up to their agreements, or that their citizens are ripe for revolt, or that all the nation respects is force—and if they proceed to stake the future of all of us on such assumptions, we are in serious jeopardy. What a help it would be if predic-

tions about the other nations' psychology could be based on something more than fear and hunches.

Social scientists should be retained to attack seriously this problem of prediction. Others should give serious attention to the matter of in-group versus out-group—a subject on which sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists have already pooled their interest, and which is close to the roots of nationalism and patriotism. At the primitive end of the in-group scale are tribes, like the Copper Eskimos, who think it perfectly moral to steal from strangers, though not from members of the tribe. At the sophisticated end are diplomats who insist that their great nation wants only peace, and the rival power is doing all the warmongering.

Anthropologists call the attitude of the Copper Eskimos "a kind of personal vanity enlarged to embrace the group." What shall we call its counterpart, among the citizens of a Great Power? Peace may depend on clearly understanding such motivations. Is some insularity necessary to stabilize a society, and if so how much? Would it help—as some students have half-seriously suggested—to declare war on Mars, and so throw the out-group to another planet?

The cultural lag must be reckoned with, and the vitality of current institutions, both at home and abroad. We can make little progress by resolving that such and such an institution should be abolished, especially if it is still serviceable to a powerful minority. The only known way to get rid of a worn-out culture trait is to replace it with a more practical one—which was William James's idea in his "moral equivalent of war." Peace will be won not so much by ceasing to do things—say disarming—as by actively doing something else—say building atomic power plants.

#### SEVEN WANTS

A group of social scientists, led by Mark A. May of Yale, has made a study of American foreign information agencies, especially the Voice of America. Their report, published in 1953,

contains a short list of seven major wants and needs now shared by all the peoples of the world. The list should be rechecked, but as they stand these seven wants give us some valuable leads. Plans which collide with them are suspect. Plans which run parallel are headed in the right direction. People everywhere, the May committee found:

1. Want to know the facts, the truth about domestic and foreign affairs. *Where, they ask, can we go for news which is not twisted for political purposes?*
2. They want peace. It is a universal desire in all countries. *Who is furthering peace sincerely?*
3. They want better standards of living, more security in food and shelter. *Who is promoting such standards? Per contra, who is exploiting the poor?*
4. They want political independence; no more colonialism, no more foreign masters. *Who are the imperialists?*
5. They want their own religious customs and beliefs. *Who is trying to undermine our religion?*
6. They want to know more about other peoples. They would like to go and see at first hand. *Who is afraid of letting us go, or of letting us in?*
7. Finally, they want to be on the band wagon, the winning side. *Whom shall we join?*

The U.S.S.R. is winning on some of these issues, the democracies on others. The Kremlin is aware of them as forces to be dealt with, while Washington and London have often been more concerned with moral issues than with what people want. Any Western politico at the drop of a hat can tell anyone, anywhere, what he *ought* to want. Among other difficulties, however, the oughts collide.

These mass desires again show the wisdom of the rank and file. The things people want, the questions they ask, are direct and human. The answers they get are often slippery and abstract. The people of the world seem to be unconsciously oriented toward survival, like iron filings to a magnet. Their leaders, by their very responsibilities, to say nothing of the grim process

which brought them to the top, are oriented toward power. How can the people be heard?

It is hard for Westerners to realize that in the last few years more than 500 million people, a quarter of the race, have thrown off the yoke of colonialism. It is safe to assume that more will do the same, until colonialism is as dead as the divine right of kings. How would Americans, collectively or individually, enjoy the permanent role of underdog? Have we imagination enough to put ourselves in the place of a poverty-stricken peasant, working till dark to raise food which will be eaten by someone higher up? Can we remind ourselves that he has a body like ours and a family relationship not so different from ours? The collection of photographs assembled by Edward Steichen under the title "The Family of Man" can help us to remember. So can the pictures of small orphaned children in Korea holding up their arms to American soldiers.

#### TO UTILIZE THE STOREHOUSE

Well, what can social science offer to peace and a viable world? Sample offerings line the shelves of the storehouse, and we have inspected a number of them, but the first is a renewed warning. Very few are being used in international relations, where cultural lag is at its strongest. War and nationalism are deeply embedded in Western culture, and are infecting those lesser powers who either had a tendency to non-violence—like India—or left the fighting to their colonial masters, or settled local quarrels with spear and arrow. Now the new UN states are enthusiastically seeking, and receiving, Western armaments.

To reverse this trend requires a strong, clear intention for peace on the part of Western leaders. The small nations, though they have registered their disapproval of our arms race, are helpless to control the great nuclear powers—which may account in part for their eagerness to acquire atomic weapons for themselves.

Once the Western leaders dared to risk even a small reversal of the nuclear arms race, it would be possible to get the new nations to follow. The experience of the past decade has pretty well shown

that the most reasonable peace proposals tend to become perpetual motion machines, failing strong leadership, backed by a strong popular mandate.

So the first contribution of social science is a warning from anthropology. Do not underrate the strength of war habits and national prejudice in the culture; do not forget that peace depends on workable machinery to settle disputes between nations. Remember that it is not enough to keep postponing a resort to ultimate weapons from year to year; the postponement must be permanent, or destruction will be permanent. Applied technology, growing at an exponential rate, was bound sooner or later to bring us to this impasse in lethal weapons. That day has now arrived, however hard to glimpse through the mists of cultural lag.

Here are other items from the storehouse, some described earlier in this book, some new, all helpful in this crisis.

1. Light on the "fighting instinct" Is the human animal incurably addicted to fighting and war? Not according to responsible psychologists and anthropologists, who agree that, while quarreling and fighting are in the genes, organized warfare is a culture trait, without which societies can survive and have survived. Personal fighting and violence, meanwhile, are traits which most individuals are able to do without, aided by a civilization that inculcates law and order. What percentage of college graduates in the West have ever been in even a fist fight over individual disagreements?

2. Help for the UN. Why did the League of Nations fail? For one reason because the Senate would not permit the United States to join. How may the UN be made stronger and more useful? Social scientists such as Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn are hard at work on the problems of *World Peace through World Law*, and have published a book under that title.

3. Useful data is available in numerous study centers throughout the country, in universities, government, and private foundations. The University of Michigan has a Center for Research on Conflict Resolution. Stanford has a center for the behavioral sciences. The "area study" technique, developed by such scientists as Kluckhohn, Murdock, Leighton and Gardner, who in World War II discov-

ered what was going on in a country without being there, offers a mine of material. The technique can be useful in respect to areas like Red China, where for many years direct information has been sealed off. Russian Research Centers at Columbia, Harvard and elsewhere continue to collect stores of valuable data on the Russian people, their government, their economy, their leaders and ideology. Can we hope to negotiate successfully without an understanding of the group on the other side of the table? Many accounts of Russia in American mass media are not much more reliable than *Pravda's* accounts of "ruling circles" in the United States.

4. Useful data is now being collected by the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, set up by Congress in 1961. With its limited budget, however, this group might welcome reports by other expert and objective researchers.

5. To improve techniques of conference and negotiation, much useful material is available in studies by UNESCO and by the Group Dynamics people, especially National Training Laboratories, at Bethel, Maine, and elsewhere. The simple but effective technique of role-playing, in which one puts oneself in the other fellow's shoes, can be particularly valuable for delegates to international conferences. Foreign service officers should practice it intensively at every level. Even Messrs. Kennedy and Khrushchev, if they could role-play a summit conference beforehand, might make better progress. (A union delegate, after role-playing a meeting on contract renewal with officials of a large rubber company, remarked, "I could just feel those stockholders breathing down my neck!")

6. UNESCO can furnish useful studies too on national stereotypes. When you think of a Frenchman, what kind of image forms in your mind? When he thinks of an American, what does a Frenchman see? UNESCO's reports describe how these stereotypes change over the years. We may recall how most Americans pictured the Japanese after Pearl Harbor, or the Germans at the time of D-day, and compare with the present pictures.

7. The Foreign Service Institute in the State Department has recorded much good work in preparing career officers for foreign

service by giving them strong doses of the culture concept. Officers also learn remote languages by an effective and rapid method based on speaking first and writing later.

Henry Lee Smith, Jr., an expert language analyst, who helped install these courses at the Foreign Service Institute, points out that language is always a function of culture. As we have no world culture, an international synthetic language can never be much more than a signal system and must always lack the rich overtones of true language. Whatever its shortcomings as a medium for poetry, for instance, a universally accepted communication code would nevertheless simplify all international relations, from locating the rest room to negotiating disarmament.

In a cultural exchange conference I attended in Russia in 1961, the language difference lengthened the time appreciably, in spite of simultaneous translations by skilled UN interpreters. It hampered our personal relations outside the conference room, as delegates tired quickly with the effort to understand each other. The few talented bilinguals fared best, but they were overworked trying to help the others. A few techniques from the laboratory at Bethel would also have expedited our communication.

The language barrier is said to have been the most formidable brake on the development of the Common Market in Europe. Communication difficulties, we may be sure, will continually haunt us until a common coin is adopted. The most popular natural language all over the world appears to be English. To adopt it as a world language, however, presents severe difficulties, both from such rival languages as Russian, Chinese and Arabic, and from the chaotic spelling and derivations of English words. Social scientists must work continually on this cardinal matter of world communication. Someone, I believe George Eliot, once said: "The peoples of the world are islands shouting at each other over seas of misunderstanding."

8. Close beside the problem of disallowing nuclear war, and deeply involved with it, stands the problem of the Hungry World—that half of mankind where per capita income is \$100 a year or less in equivalent supplies, and where the illiteracy rate is above 50



percent. Is there any answer except to hold population in line with the food supply? While organic chemists invent synthetic foods of various types, social scientists are working on means to control the birth rate. Programs of foreign economic aid, unless guided by these findings, can result in and have already resulted in waste and futility. Of what use is the great Aswan Dam on the Nile if the new cropland it irrigates can barely feed the increase in population that accumulated during its construction, so that it leaves Egypt as hungry as ever?

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## Toward a Science of Man

What have we learned from our rough-and-ready survey across the front of the social sciences, in this second decade of the Atomic Age? The reader must answer for himself, but for the author the journey has been rewarding. This sample, rough as it is, shows that knowledge is now available on a scale which most of us have been unaware of.

The interest in social science, furthermore, is deep and growing. Government, business management, all our major institutions, increasingly depend on its findings. The questions, indeed, are piling up faster than answers can be found. The scientists are under pressure from two sides--on the one hand to speed application and engineering, on the other to maintain research standards. New responsibilities fall upon the psychologists and economists and political scientists, and now the whole faculty is charged with the greatest responsibility of all—to help us safely through the Thermonuclear Truce.

It is no longer necessary to argue whether social science is "science," or what good it is beyond providing credits for a university degree. The *Scientific American*, for instance, has long since ceased to look down its nose at the social disciplines. A count of articles published in 1953 and 1954 shows 38 out of 194 of them in the social field, with nine on the borderline, or almost one quarter not primarily concerned with traditional natural science. We note such titles as "Conditioning and Emotions," "Linear Programming," "Economic Psychology," "What Is Memory?"

## FACING THE PARADOXES

A more important question is a philosophical one, and it is often raised. Granted that the scientific method has invaded the field of behavior, where is "science" itself taking us? Scientists have produced a weapon which Churchill says is out of human control—not to mention the robots, the "lonely crowds," the unemployed, the juvenile delinquents, the uprooted people, of the machine age. Might it not have been better if Galileo had never dropped his shot from the Leaning Tower; better if the Second Law of Thermodynamics had not been verified, better if Einstein had never demonstrated that energy equals mass times the speed of light, squared?

There are two answers. In the first place, Galileo *did* inaugurate the era of modern science, which the Royal Society presently formalized, Einstein did discover the explosive equation governing atomic energy, and whether science is a good thing or not, it is locked in the culture. Among other results, it has made life possible for far greater numbers than could survive without it. Deprived of mechanized agriculture, serums, and prime movers, at least half the present population of the West would soon be dead.

In the second place, "science" is only one of a whole battery of paradoxes which the mature mind must face. "Science" can blow us off the planet, yes, but it is abolishing disease around the world, and has all but wiped out helpless poverty in the United States. "Language," as noted in Chapter 26, is both a blessing and a menace—"danger: men talking." "Religion" can be a great comfort, but religious fanatics have promoted holy wars. "Liberty" to move and speak freely is priceless, "license," at the other end of the scale, is destructive. "Democracy" can give the fairest form of government yet devised, and also provide a field day for demagogues. It is difficult to think of any large abstract quality which is not at its extremes both beneficent and malignant.

A little semantic analysis helps resolve these paradoxes. *The*

*lofty terms are meaningless as they stand. Not until referents are found for them can they become meaningful—"liberty" to do what? Once found, referents can be arranged on a scale, or a frequency distribution curve, with the extremes at either end. Applying this idea to the scientific method we find that its uses are legion, on a scale that varies all the way from "how to live with everybody" to "how to kill everybody." Science, someone has said, does not provide an escalator to carry man automatically to Utopia, but an elevator which can carry him either up or down. Every new invention presents him with the challenge of which button to press. We should stop, look, and listen before jumping to the conclusion that "science," or "democracy," or "liberty," is either all good or all bad—any more than an ax is either good or bad. How are you going to use the ax?*

### HOW ABOUT ETHICS?

The scientific method as such is amoral; but Alexander Leighton notes that ethical considerations can influence a piece of scientific research at three points: (1) When deciding what to investigate—say crime and prisons; (2) when selecting experimental techniques—say, no surgical experiments on human beings, however revealing; (3) when deciding how to apply the results—shall automation be allowed to increase unemployment? Remember, too, the oath of Hippocrates, and the ethical code of the psychologists.

Only the scientific method can resolve problems independently of our wills, desires, and emotions. To fudge an experiment, as we observed earlier, slant a conclusion, report anything but the whole truth as one knows it alone in the night, brings ignominy and oblivion. Integrity must follow curiosity in the development of any genuine scientist. In this regard, science is perhaps the most ethical of all man's disciplines, operating above cultures, above nationalism, above all ideological systems. Thus ethics itself can be a legitimate study in social science. One professor I know teaches it as a branch of anthropology.

The culture concept, indeed, can provide a stabilizing element

## TOWARD A SCIENCE OF MAN

for one's philosophy in this crisis-ridden world. It shows the student, on good scientific authority, that he belongs to something more enduring than one society or one nation. He feels himself part of a process which has been evolving for perhaps a million years. Many standard dogmas—Marxism and fascism for instance—dissolve on continued contact with the idea of culture, leaving something more substantial in their place.

Again in Chapter 12 we saw how science has demolished fixed notions about racial differences. If it has not established complete "equality," it has established the negative proposition which is almost as strong—there is as yet no proof of inherent inequality. We owe to social scientists the cardinal distinction between *race prejudice*, which is deep in one's nervous system and hard to change, and *discrimination*, which can be removed overnight in many cases. Ultimately its removal helps to melt down prejudice. Ethics and science meet in this analysis.

## TWO OBSERVATIONS

Throughout this book two major observations recur: the place of relativity in scientific work today, and the need for taking down partitions between the disciplines.

Absolutes in science have all but vanished, to be replaced by ideas of order, structure, relation, probability. Few conclusions are 100 percent so; there is always room for a new experiment to increase the probability. Such an attitude is baffling to minds that like stark yes or no answers, but there seems to be no other way to fruitful discovery. On a very few levels, absolutes may still prevail—perhaps *C*, the speed of light, is an absolute. But in most scientific work, as in climbing a granite face, it is a rocking, flexible balance which gets one up the cliff.

Waldemar Kaempffert meanwhile believes that scientific teamwork saved Britain:

It was not the generals who won the war for the British, but the professors, and they won it by cooperatively applying the scientific method to every phase of fighting. Strange as it may seem, zoolo-

gists, geneticists, mathematicians, psychologists, anthropologists, physicists and chemists, worked together in teams to solve problems presented by German bombers and submarines. . . .

Before the war, emphasis in the graduate schools here and abroad was on training students to be competent, clever, and critical within the walls of their own discipline. One goal was to see who could most effectively annihilate whom. The war reversed this attitude and demanded cooperation between disciplines and an end to intellectual feuding. Social scientists found it hard at first, but many grew to like it. "Each came out of it," says John W. Gardner, "with a new respect for the special competence of the others." How long will it be before a group of graduate students may be freely permitted to submit a joint thesis? Several advance cases are already on record.

This brings us to some notes about training. A professor of sociology gives us a picture of what to expect in a modern department of social science.<sup>1</sup> One of his colleagues is collecting data to determine "what combination of urban and rural living will conserve the values of each, yet avoid the ill effects of both a mass society and provincialism?" Another colleague inquires: "How does the life one leads influence his development and growth?" A third is just back from islands in the Pacific, where he worked out written languages for natives who used only the spoken word. (The poor chaps will now have to learn to spell.) A fourth associate, flying to the scene of tornadoes, earthquakes, plane crashes, is studying how people behave in crisis, and so how to control panic and speed relief in disasters.

The role of a social scientist is now so central, Wilson says, that training is of great importance. It should include, along with his speciality, courses in biology, language, cross-cultural comparisons, statistics, history, philosophy, and logic. The student should be "taught to challenge the easy generalizations by seeking in his own experience a contradictory case." He should learn to state a problem clearly and precisely before he

<sup>1</sup> E. K. Wilson in *Antioch Notes*, November 15, 1954.

attempts an answer, and learn to relate his particular problem to a class of problems. "Whatever he sees, he must learn to analyze; and for this he needs background in the logic and tools of inquiry." His training should enable him to separate sharply what *is* from what *ought* to be.

The day is approaching, furthermore, when an intelligent layman will not feel himself competent to decide complicated questions about crime or sex or the federal budget without some background in social science—perhaps a course or two in college, or in the extension field. He does not now claim competence in genetics or astronomy without study, and why should he here? Newspaper editorials deal with social problems every day, but most editorial writers seem quite unaware that there is anything to learn beyond common sense and a fistful of figures.

What do students specializing in social science look like? We said earlier that they may spend as many years at it as a medical student. The Social Science Research Council has made a study of 153 students majoring in the field in 100 colleges.<sup>2</sup> They were a picked group, averaging B plus or better.

Their spelling—like your author's—was found to be "highly original," while their sentence structure was often a deep mystery. Very few have yet developed a clear prose style—as Oxford and Cambridge students usually do at the same age—and one wonders why. Their parents are a varied lot—professional people, business executives, tradesmen, clerks, and skilled workers. It was usually a high school teacher who first aroused their interest. "The fondness and sense of intellectual debt displayed when writing of these teachers are impressive." Sometimes a parent or a college professor opened a window and let in the light.

These students reflect the flexible class structure of America, with parents encouraging children to a professional standing higher than their own. There has been a good deal of moving about the country, giving the youngsters direct knowledge of

<sup>2</sup> SSRC *Items*, September, 1954.

many places and many people. As a group, the students have been good observers, and despite high marks are far from "greasy grinds." They are active in athletics, fraternities, college organizations. The stereotype of the social misfit who retires into a world of books is "simply not substantiated."

The group is less interested in scholarship than in people, but is glad to use scholarly knowledge in trying to understand people. Along with curiosity about human behavior, a majority have a dash of the reformer in them. This helps to keep them interested while they gradually acquire a more scientific approach. (Perhaps Chapter 22 would do them no harm.) Said one: "I want to work in a field which presents challenges in terms of personal satisfaction, and in terms of a world need." On the whole their attitude reflects the observation of George C. Homans: "There is only one paramount reason for studying anything but the multiplication table . . . you are so interested in a subject that you cannot let it alone. . . ."

The proper study of mankind presents plenty of challenges. It is replete with half-answered, unanswered, and slurred-over questions. Young men and women of spirit and imagination have a none too easy career before them if they embrace social science. They will have, too, the haunting certainty that the world's future depends on finding better answers than any which have yet been demonstrated.

But these human problems are more urgent and more dramatic than the problems in any physics laboratory. Here, as the atomic age deepens, is the intellectual adventure of our time, here the unknown continents to be explored and mapped. What can be a greater life work than extending the boundaries of the science of man?



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This partial list gives sources cited in the text, along with some background material not directly quoted. Reports of laboratory or field studies are designated R, works especially recommended for students are starred; P stands for pamphlet. Magazine articles quoted are not listed here, but are covered in the text itself by footnotes.

A complete list of important work in so broad a field would clearly be impossible, and many excellent books remain unlisted. This includes the major classics and Great Books in these subjects, which the student can readily find in libraries or in popular editions. Two good recent summaries of the classic economists will be found, by George Soule and Robert Heilbroner. Linton's *Study of Man* is recommended for background in cultural anthropology, Leonard Doob's *Social Psychology* for that subject, and for sociology, both Davis, Bredemeier, and Levy's *Modern American Society* and MacIver and Page's *Sociology* are useful.

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